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Pusey, E. B. 1800-1882.

The councils of the church
from the council of

THE
COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH

FROM THE

COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM A.D. 51,

TO THE

COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE A.D. 381,

CHIEFLY AS TO

THEIR CONSTITUTION,

BUT ALSO AS TO

THEIR OBJECTS AND HISTORY.

BY THE

REV. E. B. PUSEY, D.D.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, AND CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH.

The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.

2 Tim. ii. 2.

SOLD BY

JOHN HENRY PARKER, OXFORD,

AND 377, STRAND, LONDON;

AND J. F. RIVINGTON, WATERLOO PLACE.

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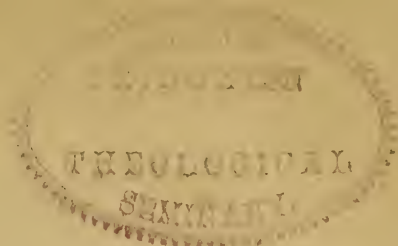
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PREFACE.

The following sheets are a fragment of a large work begun in 1850, but interrupted through the circumstances of the times, some times by the necessity of personal defence, at others, because it seemed a more pressing duty to defend some one doctrine, or to meet changes which menaced, as I feared, the usefulness of this place, as a place of education. I studied, with a view to that work, the history of the Councils of 1000 years. For Spain, I studied especially the history and character of the Councils of Toledo, as it is to be learned out of themselves. For our Anglo-Saxon Councils, in addition to any data which history furnishes, I analyzed all our remains of Anglo-Saxon law, civil and ecclesiastical. For the French Councils, the account given of the *Ordo Palatii* by Adelhard, ("a wise and aged relative of Charlemagne, and Abbot of Corbey, whom," Hincmar says, "in my youth I saw the first among the first Councillors,") became a clue

to distinguish between the Placita or Parliaments, which are often called Concilia on account of the presence of Bishops, or Conventus, and the pure Ecclesiastical Councils, which consisted solely of Bishops. To this end, I examined whatever accounts remain of the Gallican Placita, or Conventus, or Concilia. After repeated endeavours, however, to resume the work, and repeated interruptions, the fleeting years of man's life admonished me to contract my plan, if I would do aught besides, bearing more immediately on religious edification. I determined, therefore, to confine myself to the Councils of the Primitive Church. I had printed the following pages, and had made some progress in the history of the Councils down to the limit which I had fixed for myself, the close of the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, when the personal attack of Mr. Goode compelled me again to break off the work. And now, not knowing when or whether I shall be able, with health, for the time if it so please God, impaired, to complete what I have already written, I have thought it best to publish apart, this account of the Councils of the first most important period.

I began the history of the mixed Councils of the kingdoms of German origin, in France, Spain, and our own Anglo-Saxon times, with the desire of satisfying minds, discontented with the relations of the Church and the State. I wished to shew that the only authority of the State, which the Church of England has ever formally recognised, had been recognised in times,

long antecedent to the Reformation, times, with whose precedent the minds, for whom I was writing, would be satisfied. I began the work, in order to shew that we had not conceded too much. But so rapid are the revolutions of these times, that I had to continue it, with the view of shewing that those same times afforded no precedent for conceding more. I began, again, then anew from the first, and have endeavoured, in this portion of the work, to exhibit the evidences furnished by the earliest period of the Church, that matters of doctrine were always exclusively decided or attested by those, whom the Apostles left to succeed to such portion of their office, as uninspired men could discharge,—the Bishops of the Universal Church. But, as nothing could be more dry than to treat the history of the Councils of the Church, with the view of shewing simply, of whom those Councils were composed, I soon quitted the form of direct proof, and have rather left the history to impress the fact, which appears in its every page. I have incorporated, as much as I could, the language of the original writers or documents, thinking that their evidence would be given most unsuspiciously in their own words. Although my immediate object was limited, I trust that I have, in this way, given an intelligible history of the Councils of the Church down to the close of the second General Council of Constantinople, before which Arianism finally fell.

The period, although of primary importance, being limited to three centuries and a half, I thought it right

to give the above statement of those larger labours, in order to shew, that although I have given the evidence of one period only, the conviction itself rests on the history of 1000 years. In the next period, I have dropped altogether the form of proof, and have been simply writing the history of those Councils, as furnished by the original authorities. Its completion I must leave, with myself, in the Hands of God.

CHRIST CHURCH,
Easter, 1857.

ERRATA.

- Page 32. l. 15 *for* as brothers, may, *read* as brothers they.
note. *for* A.Bp. *read* ABp.
186. heading, *for* Son, *read* Scr.
205. title, *for* Arians, *read* Aetius.
249. *for* Phæbadius, *read* Phœbadius.



THE SYNODS
OF
THE ANCIENT CHURCH
&c.

STATEMENT OF THE QUESTION AS TO THE ADMISSION
OF THE LAITY INTO THE SYNODS OF THE CHURCH,
AND ARGUMENT FROM HOLY SCRIPTURE.

THE line of defence of the Church of England in which I was engaged, when the Gorham judgment and its consequent evils burst upon her, consisted in this, that however unsatisfactory many of our relations to the State are, the Church of England had not, by any concession wrung from her, abandoned any trust committed to her by God. Whatever evils there are and have been, the Church has often had to endure them before ; and therefore the endurance of them by the Church of England, as the lesser of two evils, is no justification of the hard imputations of being "a State Church," "a creature of the State," which enemies or discontented sons have cast upon her. In pursuance of this plan, I was engaged in shewing that "in later centuries, the affairs of the

Church have at times been arranged in mixed councils, in which what was specially Ecclesiastical was transacted by the Ecclesiastics." And hereby I wished to shew that there was nothing wrong in itself in the genuine constitution of the Church of England or in the relation of Convocation to Parliament, that the Civil Assembly gave a *civil* sanction to ecclesiastical matters decided by the ecclesiastical body. With the present anomalous state of things, in which Parliament, composed as it is of persons of any or (it may be) of no definite religious faith, legislates for the discipline of the Church or, at least, of the Clergy, the Church of England has nothing to do ; except that it endures it, until injustice shall make it intolerable, or justice shall amend it.

The Gorham decision to a great extent opened people's eyes to the anomaly of our actual position. It shewed that any doctrine, however clearly expressed in the Prayer Book, was, *for any judicial purpose* or as a matter of discipline, at the mercy of a Court, two only of whose members need be members of the Church, upon whose doctrines they were to decide. Those two moreover need not sit in any given cause, as on that occasion they actually did not sit.

On the other hand, the organ through which the Church, on her own principles, ought to speak, has long been forcibly silenced. And even now, if allowed to assemble at all, any whisper on matters of faith would soon cause her hundred and thirty-eight years of silence to be renewed, so long as the

present relation of Church and State shall give to statesmen any power to silence her.

But apart from actual or future questions of faith, the very enlargement of life within the Church, and the consequent interest which people must take, whether for or against the truth, requires the more urgently, a legitimate, and so a safe, instrument of action. The needs of the Church are now confessed. It is owned that they must have remedies. The cries of our neglected poor, which have long reached the ears of the Most High, now at last, through His grace, pierce our own. The Church has relinquished all reliance on the state, to perform for her her own work.

But it is, to speak plainly, grotesque, when statesmen, without consulting the Church, would legislate for her. It was with a strange, although well-meaning simplicity, that a young member of the lower house, proposed at once to double her Episcopate, without having ascertained that her present Bishops, her Clergy or her People, wished for any such sudden and almost organic change. Such proposals, on the part of the well-disposed, but inexperienced and uninformed, indicate what, in an age of unexampled activity, is likely to be devised by those of other minds and tempers and religion.

Again, one Bishop was censured before this miscellaneous body, because he *did* examine a Candidate before institution; another was blamed, because he, having examined one, was supposed, on hearsay, *not* to have done so.

It is plain, that the Church alone can adapt herself to the varied wants of the people. She cannot be adapted to them, as a mere machine, by those external to her. For they can neither understand the needs which she has to meet, nor her own inherent powers, nor the way to apply them, nor the conditions under which they can be healthfully applied. The mind of the Church must, under the guidance of God the Holy Ghost, remedy the deficiencies of the Church.

The great body of Churchmen, then, who think at all on these subjects, are convinced that, sooner or later, the Church must meet in her Synods, to remedy the evils which hinder or check the fulfilment of her Divine mission, and to develope and apply her powers.

She herself ought to debate upon remedies, and should not leave to individual effort the work of the whole. We need Missions among the poor of our towns; organized bodies of Clergy living among them; licensed preachers in the streets and lanes of our cities; brotherhoods, or guilds, which should replace socialism; or sisterhoods of mercy, for any office of mercy, which our Lord wills to be exercised towards His members, or towards those His outcast ones whom love, for love of Him, might bring back to Him. We need Clergy to penetrate our mines, to migrate with our emigrants, to shift with our shifting population, to grapple with our manufacturing system as the Apostles did with the slave-system of the ancient world, to secure in Christ's Name the Delta's of population, which the everflowing, over-

spreading stream of our English race is continually casting up.

Beautiful as is the relation of the Parish Priest to his flock, lovely as are the village homes of our Village Pastors, and gentle as are the influences radiating from those who

“ Point to Heaven, and lead the way ”

yet is there now an appalling need of further organization for a harder, more self-denying, self-sacrificing warfare, if, by God's help, we would wrest from the principalities and powers of evil, those portions of His kingdom, of which, while unregarded by the Church, they have been taking full possession.

The present system of the English Church is well adapted to retain the ground, which our forefathers of old won, not to recover that which those in the last generation lost. Our stereotyped system can hand down the impression, which has once been received ; with difficulty can it be adapted to any change. The legal forms which fence in our regular system, cramp and resist its extension. Bodies which have far less of spiritual life than the Church, can yet adapt themselves to newly arising wants, more readily than the Church. A Wesleyan chapel rises far more easily than a Church, even because it more easily disappears. The Church is built to await our Lord's Coming ; but a generation or two may have gone to meet their Lord Whom they knew not, before it is reared.

6 *Large remedies can only be devised by the whole Church*

The gigantic evils of our crowded cities and the deep degradation of their inhabitants cannot even be mitigated by ordinary remedies. Extraordinary remedies, on a small scale and as local plans, may be devised and carried out by the Bishop of the Diocese. In subordination to the Church, he is free to use the wisdom which Christ may give him, to order within his own Diocese whatever he believes to be well-pleasing to his Lord,—having to account to Him Alone. But whatever is to be applied to the whole, must be decided by the whole. If our remedies are to be commensurate to the whole extent and compass of our evils, if they are to unite the hearts of those who should support them, as the heart of one man, if they are to call forth self-sacrificing efforts, proportioned to the greatness of the needs in the whole length and breadth of our land, then the Church herself ought to commend them to her children. The anxiety that the Church should fulfil both her offices viz. the maintenance of the faith which our Lord committed to her, and the guardianship of the souls which He has given to her keeping, makes it certain that, sooner or later, she will be called to deliberate on the best mode of securing both.

Scarcely two^a years have elapsed, since any very large body of the Clergy desired the restoration of Convocation; and now, with the lightning-rapidity, which characterises these times, its functions are an-

^a Written in 1852.

ticipated ; it is assumed that it will reform itself, and that part of that reformation will be the introduction of the laity, in some way, into its deliberations, or in connection with them.

Things very different are, indeed, intended by what has already received a sort of Proper Name, "the lay element." Some contemplate a lay-body allowed by Parliament in some sort and degree to occupy its place, as to questions affecting the Church, and so performing civil functions, which Parliament, as it is and must be constituted for civil purposes, is no longer calculated to discharge with reference to the Church. Others look upon the "lay element," as a means of ascertaining the minds of the laity, and securing harmony between them and their pastors, so that, at least no change in what might any-where be the existing state of things, or any restoration should be made without the concurrence of the laity. Some look upon the introduction of the laity as a mere check on an excessive ritualism or formalism, which they think a portion of the Clergy would, if left to themselves, be unwise enough to introduce. Others look upon this assent on the part of the laity, as an inherent right of the faithful, *i. e.* the communicants of the Church. Some appeal to the Church in the United States as our model ; and so would concede, that the province of this new lay body should be co-extensive with that of the Bishops. Others, on the contrary, would limit the concurrence of laymen to certain outward subjects, reserving to the Bishops

questions of doctrine and discipline, and the right of deciding what *are* questions of doctrine and discipline. The more part, probably, of those who advocate its introduction, have no definite idea on the subject. Some professedly refer the question of the admission of the laity to Convocation itself when it shall be assembled, (as it is hoped) hereafter; others advocate the present recognition of the lay element in the abstract, deferring all limitations of its nature, objects, powers, on the very ground that the Civil Power or rather politicians who advise the Sovereign, will never allow Convocation to meet, except on the understanding, that the laity are to form an integral part of it. Others assume that the introduction of the laity is as certain as any thing future can be, and so are anxious for the speedy settlement of the question, for fear that bad precedents should be set. But almost all these parties, however they may differ among themselves, concur in this one point, viz. to urge on the adoption of that, in the meaning and object of which they disagree—"the lay-element."

Lately^b, (as is well known,) a *majority* of the Scotch Bishops agreed upon a modified statement; "That the admission of the laity into Ecclesiastical Synods, *under certain conditions*, and to speak and vote therein, *on a large class of Ecclesiastical questions*, is not inconsistent with the Word of God, and is not contrary to that pure Constitution of the Church, to

^b At a Synod holden in Edinburgh, April. 20. 1352.

which it has been the privilege of the Church in Scotland to bear testimony.”

This resolution was perhaps advisedly, but unhappily, worded so vaguely, that its meaning might in fact be restricted or enlarged to almost any extent. It raised then large and indefinite expectations and fears, but had itself no definite meaning, because it admits of so many. It was limited, accordingly, (although still with a degree of vagueness) by two resolutions in a Diocesan Synod, held by the Primus at Aberdeen in the same year;

“That the Constitution of Ecclesiastical Synods, Diocesan, Provincial, and General, having been fixed by the ancient law and immemorial usage of the Church, and no clear instance having been produced from past history of Lay Christians forming Constituent Members of such Synods,—it is the opinion of this Synod, that it is not competent for a particular Church to innovate upon a custom so ancient and so universal.”

“Resolved, further : that this Synod is of opinion, that, under the existing circumstances of our Church, it may be lawful, if the Rulers of the Church should deem it expedient, to form a mixed Convocation or Convention, of Clergy and Laity, to deliberate upon, and decide, with the concurrence of both orders, such questions relating to Ecclesiastical government, and the temporal concerns of the Church, as do not trench upon the divinely constituted order, by which definitions of doctrine, and the power of the Keys,

are reserved for the Rulers of Christ's kingdom."

The whole question as regards the laity really lies in these three points; 1. Whether the *influence* claimed for them in regard to the legislation of the Church, be direct or indirect; *i.e.* whether the claim be, to choose those who shall legislate for them, or themselves to be a part of the legislative body. 2. If the claim be, that the laity should be a part of the legislative body, whether they claim for themselves a civil or an ecclesiastical authority. 3. In what matters authority is thus claimed.

i. *Indirect* influence the laity plainly had at the first, and have in the Church of England, through the share which they have had or have in the selection of the Bishops. In S. Cyprian's time they accepted the judgment of the Bishops of the Province, or, through their own personal knowledge of those presented to them for their Bishops, enabled the Bishops to correct that judgment; or they presented to the Synod of Bishops for their judgment, such persons as they themselves knew and valued. In England, according to later precedents, the laity had virtually in their own hands the selection of the Bishops. In fact, with certain limited safeguards as to bad appointment, the laity absolutely nominated all the members of that body, which is, in principle, the ecclesiastical legislature, the Synod of Bishops. They nominate that body in a degree which, if applied to the Temporal Lords, would have been thought subversive of the balance of the constitution.

The body of the people never, either in Church or State, even in the completest democracy, legislates for itself. The theory of the "lay element" itself does not imply that they would. The question is, not whether the laity should choose for themselves those who should legislate for them, but out of *whom* they should choose them. The lay-representatives in the Convention of the Church in the United States are, equally with our Bishops, a few persons, chosen out of a very large number. It can never be a subject of discontent to those who select, that their selection is restricted to those best qualified to discharge the office. No reasonable person would think it hard, that, during a period of cholera, the management of a board of health should be entrusted exclusively to physicians. There can be no hardship in having to make a selection, when the body out of which the selection is made is large, and in that body the number of well-qualified persons is considerable. Now in so considerable a body as the Clergy of England form, it is, of course, easy to point out numbers who are *not* qualified for the office of a Bishop or for the task of legislation. This is a matter of course. Many an admirable Parish Priest would plainly not have the varied qualifications required in a Bishop. And so it is easy to throw contempt on the office of the Clergy by saying "Are such men as A. or B. (Parish Priests) more qualified for the office of legislating for the Church, than C. or D. — intelligent laymen?" But this is plainly not the question. The question

would not even be, whether out of above 17,000 Clergy of England, 16,500 possessed no great qualifications, or even were altogether unfit, for any such office, but whether there be a limited number of persons, qualified to discharge both the executive and legislative offices of a Bishop.

In times past, this has been solemnly acknowledged. For not only did the synod of old, (as shall be shewn hereafter) consist exclusively of Clergy, but the Act of Henry VIII, which set forth the independence of the English Church, rested the argument for that independence, upon her acknowledged sufficiency. The Act "for the restraint of appeals" (22. Henry VIII. c. 12.) runs; "Where by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles, it is manifestly declared and expressed, that this realm of England is an Empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and king, having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same; unto whom a body politick, compact of all sorts and degrees of people, divided in terms, and by names of spirituality and temporality, been bounden and owen to bear, next to God, a natural and humble obedience: - - - the body spiritual whereof having power, when any cause of the law divine happened to come in question, or of spiritual learning, then it was declared, interpreted, and showed by that part of the said body politick, called the spirituality, now being usually called the English Church, *which always hath been reputed and found of that sort*, that both for knowledge,

integrity and sufficiency of number, it hath been always thought, and is also at this hour, *sufficient and meet of itself*, without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, *to declare and determine all such doubts*, and to administer all such offices and duties, as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain.”

Nor can the character of our Bishops, in the last century, when Bishops ceased to be consulted about the appointments of Bishops, be of any moment in this argument. Had the laity of the Church of England cared about the right exercise of their legitimate influence in the selection of Bishops, they could have obtained it. With the single exception that the Archbishops and Bishops collectively for the time being, *could*, in an extreme case, refuse consecration, the laity had the selection of Bishops, wholly in their own hands. The majority of the laity virtually selected the Prime Minister of the Crown; the Minister of the day and his friends, virtually nominated the Bishops. The knowledge that consecration *could* be refused might check certain extreme cases of evil appointment. Yet such a negative, when it is not formally conceded, reaches but a little way. The personal influence of some eminent Bishops with the sovereign, at times interposed a check ^c. It was a mitigation of prevailing evils.

^c In our own days, I heard one speak somewhat querulously to the late Archbishop Howley, that “it was a pity that there was not more interference in preventing unsatisfactory appointments.” “Perhaps there may have been more, than people are aware of” was the quiet answer.

With these checks only, the most plenary right to the nomination of Bishops, ever conceded to the laity, when their rights were the most ample and un-circumscribed, was possessed by the English laity in the eighteenth century. They virtually elected the Bishops through their representatives, who nominated them. Had they willed it, they might have had Bishops who would have deserved their confidence. Had they so done, there could have been no more room for desiring any other body to legislate in grave spiritual matters, than, in the State, any other legislative body is desired, to control or to check the decisions of Parliament. It is not necessary here to enter into the miserable principles, or want of principle, upon which, in the last century, persons were taken out of the Priesthood for the higher office of Bishop; whence there grew up that habitual mistrust of Bishops, which is not easily shaken off. The laity bartered their "birthright for a mess of pottage." Church patronage was, at the best, employed for purposes of this world. The laity had the Bishops whom they desired; and when they had them, despised them.

But there is no ground, upon any ancient principle, why a real and legitimate influence of the laity should not be used in the selection of Bishops. Under almost any mode of appointment, the laity might have Bishops, in whom they could confide, provided that according to the Apostolic rule, due care be taken that they be "blameless, as the stewards of

God, " "holding fast the faithful word as he hath been taught." For this, the Apostolic custom of Confirmation of Bishops elect is a guarantee, which, (as it has been shown^d and might be shown yet more vividly) the English Church intended to maintain in its complete integrity.

ii. The Ecclesiastical Authorities of the Church have nothing to do, by virtue of their office, with any civil legislation, or any civil sanction or authority for their acts. Their authority belongs to a kingdom, not of this world; any authority which comes to them, in matters of this world, comes to them from the authorities of this world, and can be lawfully limited by the power which gave it. These two limitations at once exclude questions, which are often popularly mixed up with the idea of ecclesiastical legislation and confuse it. Such are, 1. any civil consequences from any ecclesiastical act, 2. the whole question of temporalities.

1. The acts of the Church, as a spiritual body, affect only the court of conscience, and are binding only on her members. She declares, for instance, what is the law of God as to marriage; her exposition of that law is binding upon her children. But whether that law shall involve any temporal consequences to children, born contrary to the law of God and of the Church, is a matter, not for the Church to decide, but for the civil authorities. The State in England has accepted in

^d Mr. Badeley's speech in "The Hampden Case.

this instance, the judgment of the Church ; if, as has too often been proposed, it were to legalise any marriage forbidden by the Divine law, the law of the Church would remain, as it was before.

The Civil authorities can give a civil sanction to the laws of the Church, or can withhold it, as they will. If they give it, they may also prescribe the terms, upon which it shall be given. There could not, of course, be the slightest objection to the appointment of a body of laymen, whose assent should be necessary to the *civil* validity of the acts of the Ecclesiastical body in matters spiritual.

2. With regard to what are called the temporalities of the Church, what has been given to God cannot, without sacrilege, be taken from God. But as to their distribution, modification, or other questions concerning them, there can be no Divine right. For although the principle that "they which wait at the Altar are partakers with the Altar," has Divine authority, the details are not of Divine, but of human, origin. No principle is involved in the distribution of Church property by laymen, any more than in the taxing of the Clergy for the purposes of the state.

It would be a gainful exchange for the Church, if leaving to the laity the whole arrangement of her temporal affairs, her Bishops and Priests were undisturbed in what our Lord entrusted to them, the decision in spiritual matters when they should arise.

iii. The remaining question, whether—conceding all outward questions or civil sanction as things not

belonging to Ecclesiastics, —questions of doctrine, or such as in any way involve decisions upon doctrine, do belong to the Clergy, is one of fundamental principle, intimately connected with the very being of the Episcopate.

It would seem almost superfluous to go about to prove any thing so obvious, as that Holy Scripture *does* make a difference between the pastors or teachers and the taught. Both Prophets and Apostles speak of teachers, as a distinct part of the Christian dispensation. God promised by the prophet Jeremiah,^a “ I will give you pastors according to Mine heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and understanding. ” And Isaiah^b speaks of it as a characteristic of the Gospel Covenant ; “ Yet shall not thy teachers be removed into a corner any more, but thine eyes shall see thy teachers. ” And in conformity with this, S. Paul^c enumerates “ pastors and teachers ” among those whom our Lord gave “ for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Christ ; till we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. ”

To teach, to feed, to rule in things concerning the soul, are parts of the Divine Commission, given by our Lord to the Apostles, and their successors. Our Lord Himself, just before His departure from this

^a Chap. iii. 15. ^b Chap. xxx. 20. ^c Eph. iv. 11--13.

earth, solemnly gave this charge to His Apostles and to those, to whom they, possessed of Divine inspiration and "full of the Holy Ghost," should commit their office. Our Good Master accompanied this gift with the promise, "Lo I am with you alway, even to the end of the world." The Apostles plainly were not to live to the end of the world; they were to serve their generation, to preach the Gospel in the whole known world, and then committing, [as they did,] their place of teaching to others, themselves to rest from their labours. But our Lord speaks, in one, to them and to those who should, in continuous succession from them, receive the commission from Himself. He gave them the two-fold office, 1. to bring the nations into His fold, in the faith of the Holy Trinity wherein they were to be baptised, and 2. to teach them, when so received, to keep every thing in faith and practice, which He had enjoined them. "Make disciples of all nations, baptising them in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe (or "keep") all things whatsoever I have commanded you.^d"

The words to S. Peter, "Feed My sheep," "feed My lambs," besides restoring him to his Apostolate and effacing his threefold denial of his Lord, were spoken to the Church in his person. They constitute a difference between the shepherds and the sheep. In one sense, all who hope to be at the Right Hand in

^d S. Mat. xxviii. 19.

the Great Day, whether teachers or taught, are the sheep of Christ. In this sense He is the One Shepherd, Who Alone feeds, through those whom He appoints as shepherds under and for Him. In this sense, S. Peter, and S. Paul, and S. John were all sheep of Christ, whom He, the Good Shepherd found, when lost, and laid on His shoulders, rejoicing. In another sense, Christ has appointed the ministry of men to "feed" His "Church, which He hath purchased with His Own Blood:" and this, S. Peter and all the Apostles, and all, who from the Apostles, have received, by descent, the commission to teach, have done, and do, by virtue of our Lord's words, "Feed My sheep," "feed My lambs." S. Peter had no authority over Apostles, nor any office to feed *them*, to whom had been given the self same office, "Go and disciple all nations:" "Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." "When it is said to him," says S. Augustine, "it is said to all, 'Lovest thou Me, feed My sheep.'"^e

This same office the Apostles committed to the Bishops. "Very perfect and unblameable in all things," says S. Irenæus,^f "did the Apostles wish them to be, whom they left as their successors, delivering to them their own place of teaching." For the fulfilment of that office, it was enjoined to them, that they should, 1. themselves "hold fast the form of sound

^e De agone Christ, c. 39. ^f iii. 3. 1.

words, ^g—"hold fast," so as not to let it be wrung from them, "the faithful word according to the teaching, ^h"—to "take heed to the doctrine, ⁱ"—"keep the good deposit committed unto him^k;" 2. be "apt to teach^l;" 3. "by sound doctrine to exhort and convince the gainsayers. ^m"

The office then of the Bishop, in the Synod, as relates to doctrine, was part of his general office of keeping or teaching the faith. The office of bearing witness to the Apostolic doctrine is part of the Apostolic Commission, handed down by succession from the Apostles. It was given to the Bishops, in succession from the Apostles; it was *not* given to others.

But in neither part of the office was there any arbitrary authority. In neither, might the Bishop teach any thing new, any thing of his own mind. He dared not to propose, as certain, any opinion, however probable, or any inference of his own; much less, any individual or private fancy. He himself was under a law, to teach what he had received. He could impose nothing as a law to others, to which he was not subject himself. To individuals he taught what, (although to *them*, before he taught them, it was uncertain or unknown,) he had himself received as certain truth. In Synods, when occasion arose, the Bishops collectively bore witness to some portion of that same truth, which some new heresy had impugned. But, in both cases alike, they taught or bore witness to what, apart from

^g 2 Tim. i. 13. ^h Tit. i. 9. ⁱ 2 Tim. iv. 16. ^k 2 Tim. i. 14

^l 2 Tim. iii. 2. ^m 2 Tim. ii. 24. ⁿ Tit. i. 9.

themselves, was certain ; they taught in subordination to an authority above themselves. Our Lord's promise was given in its fulness to the whole Church. The same promise belonged, in their degree, to all who were commissioned by Him. Each who bore our Lord's commission possessed it, in his proportion, subordinately to those above him, as those above him to the whole. There was subordination in the Christian army ; " men under authority " but " having soldiers under them ; " and, under the Great Captain of our salvation, each petty officer had this authority, so long as he spake in his Lord's Name, not in his own.

Responsibility was the very condition of authority. The individual Priest teaches the souls under his care with all confidence, because he himself is amenable to his Bishop. The Bishop teaches with authority, because subordinate in the first instance, to the Synod of Bishops. The local or provincial or national Synod, teaches and regulates things, through the wisdom which *He* gives, Who is present with those gathered in His Name ; but it does so with the more confidence, because its decisions are liable to be revised, cancelled or confirmed by the whole Church. In fact, the most important decisions on doctrine have been made in Provincial Synods, because they knew that they taught *that*, which they, in common with the rest of the Church, had received. A large General Council, like that of Ariminum or the Latrocinium of Ephesus, might and did err, if it set forth any thing of its own ; and it was corrected by the whole. A small

Provincial Council, (such as those which first condemned the doctrine of Novatian or Arius, Pelagius or Eutyches,) decided fearlessly, knowing that it was delivering the one truth which had been taught from the first; and it was confirmed by the whole.

These two parts of the office of teaching were, in principle, the same. The office of teaching individuals was necessarily continuous; it extended to "all things which a Christian ought to know and believe for his soul's health." The bearing witness to the truth in Synod, was both occasional in time, and, on each occasion, limited in extent. For the truth was from time to time only so contradicted as to require the interposition of the Synod; and the truth so contradicted was, on each occasion, for the most part, some one, or at most, some connected truths only.

And yet, although more limited in extent, the laying down of the truth in Synods was, beyond all comparison, a far weightier office than that of individual teaching. Preaching, teaching, concern the well-being of single souls; formal statements of faith involve the well-being of the whole aggregate of souls, the Church. Individual teaching affects mostly but a few individuals. At most, even if extended to others, it reaches them only individually. It does not affect the Church through them, until they have weight enough to induce the Church to act as a whole. The acts of the whole body, as a whole,

ⁿ Office of Baptism of Infants, end.

alone affect its very being. The teaching of doctrinal statements, received by any portion of the Church, affects the whole being of the body which so receives them. It is then little to say, that if that which is far greater, the taking part in doctrinal decisions, is open to the laity, à fortiori is that which is far less, public preaching. The administration of the Holy Eucharist, or the power of the keys, have their own distinct ground in Holy Scripture. But the whole office of teaching is one. Certainly to teach, even in the house of God, what may soon pass away, is an office (sacred as it is) of slight moment, in comparison with that of permanently fixing the authorized teaching of the Church.

If any one who desires that laymen should share in decisions on matters of faith, would yet be at all surprised to see all or any large number of our most important pulpits occupied by laymen, or to have laymen, (although without power to administer the Holy Eucharist,) as our Parochial Ministers, or that those whom they think of as associated in the future legislation for the Church, should preach the Gospel to our poor, then certainly he has wholly misconceived the relative magnitude of the two offices. For far higher spiritual gifts, greater wisdom, more accurate doctrinal knowledge, deeper insight into Divine truth, are required in those who are to sit in Council for the Church than in those who are to teach her individual members. A good Parish Priest, though pious and well instructed for his office, is not there-

24 *The question, not of talent, but of Christ's promise.*

fore well-qualified to decide accurately, or to judge of the whole bearing of complicated questions, or to maintain the truth against heretical aggression.

But the question does not turn upon the respective talent, learning, judgment, human wisdom of the Laity and the Clergy, however natural it is to suppose that the more eminent Clergy would be most versed in those matters of the "law Divine" to which they have vowed to "draw^o all the care and study" of their lives. The question does not relate to God's natural gifts to man, even though cultivated by aid of the grace of God. Our Lord's commission had a blessing attached to it, "I am with you always even to the end of the world." So long as we believe, that those words were spoken eminently to the Apostles and their successors, the question is not as to those other gifts in themselves, but as to those gifts, with our Lord's promise or without it. Faithfulness on man's part is plainly the condition of all God's promises, But if faithful, Bishops have, by virtue of Christ's promise, a Presence in Synod beyond what attends their ordinary acts. Why should this seem a strange thing to believe? Nothing is outwardly changed by the inward Presence of God.

Accordingly, until the unhappy precedent, made in very evil times by the Church of the United States, when struggling for life, the question of lay-representation was consistently confined to bodies

^o Office for Ordination of Priests.

who rejected the Apostolic succession, the^p Continental reformers, and the dissenters in Great Britain.

It must be said plainly, that the precedent set in the United States is radically wrong, and in fact, is so far, the adoption of a principle belonging to bodies who reject the Apostolic succession and the whole principle of a deposit of faith, and of a commission, transmitted from the Apostles and part of the mind of Christ. Yet, in so saying, I do not mean (God forbid!) that she has thereby forfeited her claim to be a part of the Church. She has abandoned a bulwark of the faith, a function of the office inherited by her Bishops, not the faith itself nor the Apostolic succession.

Through our neglect she became what she became; and we owe her therefore not sympathy only, but a respectful and humble sorrow. Still, while we own our own share in the sin, and that through God's mercy alone we have been preserved, it were thanklessness for our own mercies, not to own, that she has undergone loss. Nestorianism and Eutychianism were not the produce of one generation only, nor are they extinct. The Athanasian Creed is at once the bulwark against those heresies, and the clearest exposition of the deepest truths on the very Being of God. It sets forth in clearest terms the Being of God Almighty in Himself, and in the relation which through us, His lowest creatures, He vouchsafed to form with

^p See Bishop Bilson's Tracts p. 2. Perpetual Government of Christ's Church c. 16. p. 388. comp. Field on the Church. B. 5. c. 49. p. 646.

His whole rational creation. On those truths the human mind must dwell, if it would think at all on God, its Author and its End, and on its redeeming Lord. Thoughts like those which the Athanasian Creed so wonderfully embodies, must come across, every reflective mind. The soul must think in some way on every subject mentioned in that Creed, if it rises above the toils or pleasures of this earth to dwell upon its God. Yet error lies as near to the mind of man as truth. Error is manifold, truth one. And therefore there is the more danger lest the soul of man should go astray, where it would most need and long to think aright, where error would estrange it from its God and Saviour, as HE IS. It *was* a loss then, that, misunderstanding its solemn warnings to those who wilfully part with the faith, the American Church allowed one of the clearest expositions of that faith silently to drop from them. They parted, not only with the Creed itself, but with the very confession that it "ought thoroughly to be received and believed." They did not mean to part with the faith from their heart, but they parted with its confession from their lips. In like way, they did not deny, but they ignored the value of absolution.

They did not deny, but, in both instances they suppressed the truth. It is plain, then, that in the future history of the Church, either we must be the instrument of God in upholding their faith, or they, if we enter into closer relations with them, will lower ours. Not then in reproach, but in self defence

it was said, that a Church which had “omitted the Athanasian Creed, and bracketted the Nicene,” was no model to be safely copied.

The admission of laymen to a co-ordinate voice in Councils on the faith, is not an heretical act. Yet, it is an innovation upon that rule which the inspired Apostles left with the Church. To depart from their rule must needs be the commencement of a perilous course, the issue of which God Alone knoweth, and from which may He preserve us.

The question of lay-representation was originally thrown out by the Lutheran States,^a as a ground of objection to the Council to which they were invited. Then Luther,^r in his rough off-hand way, assumed that Laymen ought equally to decide in matters of faith, because matters of faith equally concerned them. His followers appealed to the Council of Jerusalem as an authority, in which, their writers on Ecclesiastical^s

^a It is mentioned as one of the grounds of the German Protestant States, against attending the proposed Council. “The chief judgment in the Church no ways belongs to the Pope, but to the Church itself, i. e. not only to the Bishops ; but also to Kings, Princes, and other orders.” *Protestantium Imperii Statuum rationes cur Synodus &c.* 1537. in Goldast. *Politic. Imp.* 27. § 4. p. 1201

^r “Among them should be some intelligent and true-hearted laymen ; for the matter concerns them too. As if Herr Hans von Schwarzenberg were alive, he or such as he, must needs be trusted.” *von den Conciliis.* 1539. p.203.

^s The Magdeburgh Centuriators gravely relate as matter of history ; “Then (after St. James’ sentence) the other elders too, and *the whole Church gave their votes*, and the sentence provided, that “men are justified by faith only, without the works of the law”. *Cent.* 1. & 2. c. 9. Col. 548.

“The decrees of the Council were conveyed both through letters written by the common suffrage of the Apostles and elders and whole Church, and *viva voce* by some of the chief brethren.” etc. *Ib.*

history inform us, that it was decided by the votes of the whole Church, that "man was justified by faith only without works."

It is strange that a Council, in which Apostles, "filled with the Holy Ghost," the commissioned and inspired teachers of the Church, the instruments of the Holy Spirit in giving to us the Holy Scriptures, who spake as well as wrote, "as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," pronounced, taught, spoke with Divine authority in the midst of an assembly possessed of no authority, should be selected as a specimen of subsequent assemblies; that from a Council in which all who spoke were infallible, any inference whatever should be made as to any subsequent Council when plenary individual inspiration should be withdrawn. The Council of Jerusalem would have been a mere small provincial Council of some four or five Bishops without authority over other Christians, had not those Bishops been the inspired Apostles of Christ. Plenary authority *then* lay in those single organs through whom God the Holy Ghost at that time fully spoke, as it has since in the concurrent voice of the whole Church. Each Apostle was, on the One Foundation, a Foundation of the City of God against which its Author said, the gates of Hell should not prevail. Since the Church of Christ could not fail, neither could any one foundation, upon which that Church rested. S. Peter, S. Paul, S. James were, to the end of time, to be the organs of the words of God. Had they been fallible, when delivering His Word in the Council, our Lord's

promise would have failed; our whole security that we have God's Word, would have perished. Nothing could be taken from that which Apostles spake without denying Him Who sent them. No Bishop or Priest or Layman could by his private judgment add any authority to what were the words of God. The Council of Jerusalem would be a precedent, not for Councils which (as all admit even of General Councils) may err, but for infallible Provincial Councils. If it is to be an authority for a decisive voice being given in Councils to the laity, it must be an authority also for the infallibility of small Provincial Councils. It is true that Laymen were present at the Council of Jerusalem, but it is also true that the Council of Jerusalem was infallible, to which infallibility these laymen could not add any thing, and so could not in truth add any thing to the Council itself.

In the Council of Jerusalem, to have questioned ^x the Apostles' teaching, would have been to deny the faith and to destroy its foundations. The full inspiration of the Apostles was the guarantee of God for the truth and Divinity of the whole Faith. "When^t He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He shall guide you into the whole truth;" "the whole truth," which belongs to this our condition as wayfarers; the entire truth of the Gospel, which the Church was, to the end of time, to receive from them. If the Apostles could have erred in one matter of faith, thus solemnly

^t S. John. 16. 13.

brought for their decision, they might have erred in all.

The People were present at the Council of Jerusalem, but to hear and to obey the words of God delivered through the Apostles' mouth to them and the whole Church of God. True, they did speak ; they even disputed ; but when ? Before the Apostles spake. " Certain of the sect of the Pharisees who believed, " seem somewhat clamorously to have urged their plea ; " It was needful to circumcise them [the Gentile converts] and to command them to keep the law of Moses. "

For S. Luke goes on to say " When there had been much disputing. " But when an inspired Apostle had spoken, " *then* " S. Luke relates, " all the multitude kept silence, and gave audience to Barnabas and Paul. " The people listened ; Apostles spoke. Even Apostles dwelt chiefly upon the direct and visible witness of God the Holy Ghost. S. Peter appeals to the descent of God the Holy Ghost upon those firstfruits of the Gentiles, Cornelius and his household ; S. Paul and S. Barnabas to the " miracles and wonders which God had wrought among the Gentiles by them. " S. James, as Bishop of the place, and president of the Council, confirms, by prophecy of the Old Testament, the meaning of these miracles, and gives his sentence. From that sentence none could depart, who did not deny Apostolic authority and with it the foundation of the faith and the promise of our Lord Jesus Christ, and so had become an apostate.

Without that plenary inspiration, the Council of Jerusalem would have had no authority to prescribe

its decree. Of the twelve Apostles "James, Cephas and John who seemed to be pillars"^u were, probably, alone present, with Barnabas and Paul. The rest of the Apostles, (except St. James the elder who had borne witness to Christ by his death,) were probably dispersed throughout the world, preaching Christ. There was no representation of those absent; no Bishops, nor (as these will have it,) laity collected from the whole Church. The Council of Jerusalem could have had no weight, at all, with the Church, save from that authority which gives it its weight now, that the words spoken there by the Apostles were the words of God, and were owned as such then, as they are owned by us now.

The Laity of Jerusalem had no authority over those of Antioch or of the rest of the Church, nor were they entitled to accept the decree in the name of the rest. *They* had not been consulted by the rest. Paul and Barnabas were sent "to Jerusalem, unto the Apostles and Elders about this question."^v "The Apostles and Elders came together, for to consider of this matter."^w Paul and Timothy gave to the Churches which they visited, "the decrees that were ordained of the Apostles and Elders, which were at Jerusalem,"^x not to examine, nor to receive of their own mind, but "for to keep." The decree itself is in the words of the inspired Apostles, "it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us;" those in whose names it was

^u Gal. ii. 9. ^v Acts xv. 2. ^w Ib. 6. ^x Acts xvi. 4.

framed as having ordained it, were the Apostles and Elders, the same who were called together to consider of the matter. The whole Church at Jerusalem obeys and circulates it; but Apostles having given their sentence, no other, Bishop, Priest, or Layman spoke, or voted, or judged in the matter. The very mention of the Laity, at all, as even agreeing in the decree, is uncertain. For, according to a ^y reading, extant in the second century and for which there is considerable authority, the words are, "The Apostles and Elders, brethren, to the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch, &c." In this case, the Apostles and Elders, writing to the brethren who came from the Gentiles, call themselves by the same title, brethren. As brothers, may write to brothers.

But whichever be the right reading of the text, if it is regarded as in any way a precedent for subsequent Councils, when those present had not the plenary inspiration of the Apostles, it becomes a precedent against, not for, the concurrence of the Laity.^z For the decree of the Apostles and Elders was issued as an authoritative decree to be kept by the Laity throughout the world, whom those at Jerusalem were not entitled

^y Abp. Potter notices this reading as being that in the time of S. Irenæus [iii. 12. p. 232. ed. Grabe. *Apostoli et presbyteri fratres.*] of the old Latin Version [*Apostoli et seniores fratres.*] of the Alexandrian, and other MSS. of good authority [on Church Government. c. 5. p. 223. ed. Crosthw.] The reading without the *καὶ*, viz, *οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἀδελφοί* occurs in the Cod. Alex. Vat. Ephr. reser. Cant. in S. Iren. Origen. S. Athan. Pacian. Vigil. in the Vulg. Cant. and Arm. It is adopted only by Lachmaun and Muralto. Griesbach notes it as the less probable reading; Alter, Matthiæ, Scholz and Tischendorf retain the common reading. Potter compares 1 Cor. ix. 5. "a sister wife."

^z A. Bp. Potter urges this, l. c. see also Hammond *ad loc.*

to represent, nor did they represent, and it laid upon them, as necessary things, things to which they had given no consent. But in truth, being the result of full inspiration, it forms no precedent at all. For the decree so issued was binding at once upon all the Church, whereas the decrees of Councils obtain their authority from their reception by the Bishops of the whole Church.

Presbyters had the same power of teaching, absolving, consecrating, lodged in them as the Bishops. They could lawfully do all which the Bishop did, except confirm and ordain. Those powers, however, they held, not independantly of the Bishop, but liable to be restricted in their use by his will. They differed from the Laity, in that by Ordination they had received a commission from God, to teach as well as to do all besides appertaining to their office. They differed from the Bishops even in those things which they held in common with the Bishops, in that the Bishops had the authority fully in themselves; the Priests in subordination to the Bishops, and so far only as they were directly or tacitly permitted by the Bishops. But if the Bishops associate the Priests with themselves in any office of teaching, they only allow the free exercise of a commission, which the Priests have through them already received from God. If they were to admit the Laity, as such, they would admit them to that office in an unauthorised way, not in the way which God has appointed, and to which, as His appointment, He has promised His blessing.

CHAPTER. II.

Notices of Councils, down to S. Cyprian's time.

The amount of evidence, that Bishops alone had a definitive voice in Synods, is, throughout the history of the Church, in proportion to the detail, in which the account of those Synods is given. The evidence must in its own nature be incidental. No one questioned *then*, that Bishops alone had that definitive voice. No one then went about to prove it. The word "Synod," by the very force of the term, meant the Council of Bishops. On the very ground then, that it was the received term, writers of that age had no more need to mention that the Council consisted of Bishops, than an English Historian, who mentioned the meeting of Parliament, or of Convocation, would have to enumerate their constituent parts. In formal documents, the House of Peers is described as consisting of the "Lords spiritual and temporal." Ordinarily there is no occasion to state what every one at the time knows.

Indications, that Bishops only had an authoritative voice in Councils, are sometimes furnished by the subscriptions to the Councils. These subscriptions, (as we shall see from Eusebius,) were annexed to the decisions of very early Councils. But the acts which contained the subscriptions are not, in the earliest period, preserved. The Synodical letters written by

the Bishops present at the Council to distant Bishops, contain, as early as in the time of St. Cyprian, another kind of evidence. Sometimes again the Bishops are mentioned in reference to the numbers who were assembled ; sometimes in relation to the Provinces from which they were gathered.

It may, then, be that some Councils may yield no direct evidence at all. Considering that it was, and could be, no direct object of the writers to mention, of whom the Council was composed, that it would even be unnatural that they should mention what was known to all, except when there was something further to mention, it is even remarkable that so much evidence should remain.

For the early period of the Church, the Ecclesiastical historians are the chief authorities. In giving the facts as to the Councils, they are led incidentally to mention those who decided the question brought before them. The Epistles of St. Cyprian, being full of the history of the times, of which St. Cyprian himself formed so large a part, furnish evidence of their own.

Testimonies have already been given^a during the period of the six first General Councils, and far down into the ninth century (A. D. 889.) that, on the one hand, those laymen who had most influence in the Church, the Christian Emperors, wholly disclaimed having any voice in matters of faith, and that the

^a See above Royal Supremacy. Part. 1. p. 17. sqq.

Bishops, on the other hand, during that earlier period, spoke of decisions in matters of faith, as entrusted to themselves by God.

The Emperors Constantine, Theodosius the Elder, Valentinian the Elder, Gratian, Honorius, Theodosius the younger, (as represented by Florentius,) the Emperor Basil in the eighth Synod, Justinian, alike disavow all interference, as contrary to the Divine law. "It is *not lawful* for one not of the list of the most holy Bishops, to mingle in ecclesiastical questions," says Theodosius to the Council of Ephesus. "It is not lawful for me, whose place is among the Laity, to busy myself with matters of faith. Let then the Priests and Bishops, to whom this care belongs, meet apart by themselves, wherever they will," said Valentinian the Elder. Honorius; "The interpretation of Divine things belongs to them [the Bishops;] to us, the obedience of religion." Towards the close of the ninth Century, the same language is still used by the Emperor Basil; "I say, it is not permitted to any layman whatsoever, in any manner to move questions as to ecclesiastical subjects, or to stand against the whole Church, or an Œcumenical Synod. For to search out these things belongs to Patriarchs, and Priests, and Teachers, to whom the office of ruling is assigned, to whom the power to consecrate, to loose, and to bind is given, who have the keys of the Church and of Heaven; for the layman, although he is full of all reverence and wisdom, is yet a layman, and a sheep, not a shepherd."

Even Constantius the Arian writes to Semi-Arian Bishops, disclaiming the Anomœans; “^b I would exhort those who, though late, emerge out of this mire, to agree with this decree, which the Bishops, wise in Divine things, have decreed for the best, as need required.” In another mood, when threatening Eleusius and Sylvanus, he was answered, “*he* had the power of deciding punishment; *they*, what was godliness or ungodliness; and they would not betray the belief of their fathers.” “But Constantius,” adds Theodoret, “whereas he ought to have admired their wisdom courage and boldness for the Apostolic doctrine, expelled them from the Churches, and ordered that others should be set in their stead.”

Laity or representatives of the Laity, were often *present* in Councils on matters of faith, because the faith concerned them. They were not present at Ecclesiastical trials, because such might be a scandal to them. But wherever they were present, it was as sheep not as shepherds; as the taught, not as the teachers.

Besides the disclaimers on the part of the Emperors to interfere in doctrine or in the things of God, I have also shewn already at great length, ^dthat Synods of Bishops were part of the earliest rule of the Church. The Ante-Nicene Canons prescribe that Synods of Bishops should be held twice in the year; Tertullian, at the close of the second century, speaks of Councils,

^b Ep. ad Eccles. Antioch. fin. in Sozom. iv. 14. ^c Theod. ii. 27.

^d Royal Supremacy Pt. 1. ix. p. 57. sqq.

habitually held in Greece, in words corresponding to the Apostolic Canon. In the third century they are spoken of by St. Firmilian, as meeting regularly. The Council of Laodicea, A. 320, contains a direction about them. The Council of Nice enlarges the Apostolic Canon, and, being an Œcumenical Council, ordains them for the whole Church, decreeing that “for each year, in each province, there should be Synods twice in the year, in order that, all the Bishops meeting in common, such questions” (as to excommunication) “may be examined.”

The Antiquity of the Apostolic Canon, as compared with those of Nice and Antioch, is illustrated by its conciseness, and by the absence of any reference to later titles or arrangements. The later Councils say that “Bishops of *each Eparchy* are to meet in common;” the Apostolic Canons, which do not mention the Eparchy, were probably framed, before the Ecclesiastical divisions were conformed to those of the Empire. In like way, the Councils both of Nice and Antioch speak freely of the *Metropolitan*; the Apostolic Canons only say, “The Bishops of *each nation* ought to know who among them is accounted the first, whom they should regard as a head, and do nothing of greater moment without his privity.^e” This Canon is quoted as “an ancient Canon of our Fathers” by the Council of Antioch.^f The very fact that the Apostolic Canon was expanded by these two

^e Can. Ap. 35. ^f Can. 9.

independant Councils implies that it was a recognised rule of the Church.

The object of these "Councils of the Bishops" is laid down in the Apostolic Canon itself. "Let^s them question one another as to the doctrines of godliness [i. e. of the true faith,] and let them settle Ecclesiastical contradictions which may arise." Accordingly we have, long before the Council of Nice, a Canon received in the Church, that there should be twice in the year, Synods of the Bishops exclusively, and these to treat of matters of faith, and settle Ecclesiastical questions.

Another frequent occasion of early Councils was the election of Bishops. An African Synod, under S. Cyprian, held A. D. 254. speaks of the mode of election, as a "Divine Tradition and an Apostolic observance." That Council, held about 150 years after St. John was taken to his rest, had good means of knowing what were, or were not, Apostolic observances. "The practice, received from Divine tradition and Apostolic observance, must be diligently upheld and kept, which is also kept by us and by almost all the Provinces, namely, that to the due solemnization of ordinations, all the neighbouring Bishops of the same Province should meet together among the People for whom a Prelate is ordained, and the Bishop should be *chosen in the presence* of the People, who know most fully the lives of each, and are thoroughly

acquainted with the character of every one from his conversation. This too we see was done among you in the ordination of our colleague Sabinus, so that by the suffrage, [i. e. good will] of the whole brotherhood, and by the *judgment of the Bishops who had met together in their presence*, and who had written to you concerning him, the Episcopate was conferred upon him." The People were rightly consulted in this, both because they knew the previous lives of those presented to them, and because it is of the utmost moment that there should be the fullest confidence between the teacher and the taught, the shepherd and the sheep. S. Cyprian lays stress upon this knowledge of the character of the individual to be chosen for that high office, in his application of Numbers xxiv. 25, 6. to this case; "This ^hwe see to be derived from Divine authority, that a Priest should be chosen *in presence of the People*, under the eyes of all, and be approved worthy and fit by public sentence and testimony;" and again, "He instructs and shews us that the ordinations of Priests ought only to be solemnized with the knowledge of the People standing by, that so, *by their presence*, either the crimes of the wicked may be detected, or the merits of the good proclaimed, and *that* ordination be right and lawful which had been examined with the suffrage [i. e. approbation,] and judgment of all."

But the decision lay with the Bishops. The new

^h Ep. 67. §. 4. p. 211.

Bishop was chosen not “by” but “*in the presence of the People,*” who knew most fully the lives of each. Both points, the choice by the Bishops, and the acceptance by the People, are contained in the ancient rule. “ⁱLet no one be given as a Bishop to an unwilling People.” The Bishop was “*given to the People,*” not chosen by them; yet he was not to be forced upon them, if unwilling.

Origen lays the same stress as S. Cyprian on the *presence* of the People, in order that they might be satisfied that the fittest person was appointed, and that there might be no ground for subsequent scruple. He is speaking more broadly of all ordinations to any office of the Priesthood. “Let ^jus see the order of appointing a High-Priest. ‘Moses called an assembly and said unto them, this is the law which the Lord commanded.’ Although then the Lord had given command as to appointing the High Priest, and the Lord had chosen, yet the assembly also is called together. For in ordaining a Priest *the presence of the People* is required, that all may know certainly that *he* is chosen to the Priesthood, who, out of all the People, is most excellent, learned, holy, most eminent in all virtue; and this, *the People* standing by, ^kthat there may be no subsequent re-consideration or scruple. For this is what the Apostle too enjoined in the ordination of a

ⁱ Nullus invitis detur Episcopus. Celestine Ep. 2. ad Episc. Gall. 5. c. 5. A. D. 428. quoted in the Decretals D. 61.c. 13.

^j Hom. 6. in Lev. § 3. p. 216. ed. de la Rue. ^k Adstante populo.

Priest, saying, ‘He must have a good report of them which are without ; lest he fall into reproach and the snare of the devil,’ The universality of the practice and its object are attested by the heathen Emperor, Alexander Severus, who copied it with express reference to the Jews and Christians. “When¹ he purposed to assign rulers to the Provinces &c. he proposed their names, exhorting the People, that if any had any crime to object, he would prove it—and said that it was a grievous thing that, when Jews and Christians so did, publishing the names of those who were to be ordained Priests, this should not take place as to the rulers of Provinces, to whom the lives and fortunes of men were committed.”

The People, of course, very often had a Priest whom they well knew, revered, loved. If he was really eminent, they rightly longed that such an one should be their Bishop; and the Bishops as rightly confirmed their choice. It was no question of “patronage” or “right of nomination,” on the one hand, or of “election” on the other. One only object was in the hearts of all, to find one apt and meet to feed that portion “of the Church of God, purchased with His own Blood,” which, by age or by martyrdom, had lost its Shepherd. Right glad must the Bishops have been, when all anxious enquiry was saved, and the zeal and love of the People bore such witness to the merits of their Priest, that the Bishops could at once

¹ Lamprid. in vit. ej. c. 45

approve and consecrate the object of their choice, and themselves return to the care of their own flocks.

Such is the picture, which the Synodical letter of the Council of one hundred Bishops at Alexandria gives of the election of St. Athanasius. “They^m [the Arians] say that, ‘after the death of Bishop Alexander, a certain few having mentioned the name of Athanasius, six or seven Bishops elected him clandestinely in a secret place.’ This is what they wrote to the Emperors, having no scruple about asserting any falsehood. Now that the whole multitude and all the People of the Catholic Church, assembled together as with one mind and body, cried, shouted, that Athanasius should be Bishop of their Church, made this the subject of their public prayers to Christ, *and conjured us to grant it* for many days and nights, neither departing themselves from the Church, nor suffering us to do so, of all this we are witnesses, and so is the whole city and the province too. And that he was elected by the greater part of our body in the sight and with the acclamations of all the People, we *who elected him*, also testify, who are more credible witnesses than those absent *then*, and now falsifiers.”

Much, either for praise or blame, may escape the knowledge of the Bishops, which does not escape those who are brought into continual intercourse with the daily life of the Priest. The People, then, could

^m In Apol. c. Arian. §. 6. p. 128. St. Ath. Hist. Tracts p. 22. Oxf. Tr.

give a valuable testimony either as to the merit or demerit of those who should seem eligible. A large multitude has many eyes and ears, and these situate in such nearness as to discover concealed failings or retiring virtues.

The Canons of the Church accordingly contemplated and provided for the case, that the People might reject the Bishop provided for them. Yet the very Canonⁿ which contemplates that a Bishop consecrated for a Diocese might be rejected by the People, provided that such a case should be referred back to the full Synod of the Province.

The People had, in this way “the °power either of choosing worthy Priests or rejecting the unworthy.” A Bishop elected amid their acclamations was said, sometimes, to be elected by their suffrages,^p some-

ⁿ “If any Bishop consecrated for a Diocese does not go to it, not from any fault of his own, but either through the People declining [to have him] or for some other cause not arising from himself, let him share in the dignity and public ministrations, only not interfering in the affairs of the Church in which he celebrates; but let him wait until the full Synod of the Province, having judged on the case when brought before them, shall decide.” *Couc. Antioch.* (A. 341.) can. 18.

° *St. Cyprian Ep. (Synod.) 67. § 3. p. 211. O. T.*

^p See above p. 40. from *S. Cyprian Ep. 67.* where the word “suffrage” belongs to the people, “judgment” to the Bishops, as is expressed § 5. and again, “No one, after the Divine sanction had, after the *suffrages* of the people, after the *consent* of our fellow-Bishops, would make himself a judge, not of his Bishop but of God.” *Id. Ep. 59. ad Corn. § 6. p. 155. O. T. § 7. p. 156. Ep. 68. ad Steph. § 2. p. 217. Ep. 55. ad Anton. § 6. p. 121.* (where he says also, “He (Cornelius) was made Bishop by very many of our Colleagues then present in the city of Rome.”) The corresponding Greek word is also used. *St. Gregory of Nazianzum c. g.* says that “*S. Athanasius* was placed in the see of Mark by the *suffrage* (ϝηφω) of all the people” in contrast with those whom the Arian faction intruded into his see, by aid of the civil power and military force.” *Orat. 21. § 8. p. 390.*

times with their testimony^a; at times, to be elected by the suffrage of the Clerks and at the petition of the People.

Even a General Council used freely this term “suffrage” to express the glad concurrence of the laity in the act of the Bishops who appointed the Patriarch. The Bishops of the Council of Constantinople (A. D. 381.) wrote to the Western Bishops; “*we have made Nectarius Bishop, in the Œcumenical Council with common consent, in the presence of the Emperor Theodosius and the whole Clergy, and the whole City concurring.*”^r They relate also how the Bishops of the Province and of the Eastern Diocese meeting together had canonically ordained Flavian, the whole Church in harmony^s honoring him as with one voice, and how they had recognised Cyril as Bishop of Jerusalem “having been of old canonically ordained by the Bishops of the Province.”

In the Council of Chalcedon, in the decision that Bassianus and Stephanus had been uncanonically intruded into the see of Ephesus, the maxims occur, “another, who had the suffrages^t of all whose shepherd he is to be, should rule the Church.” “There shall be *given* to the Metropolis of Ephesus, as

^a S. Cypr. Ep. 44. ad Corn. fin. p. 99. O. T. “When a Bishop is once made and approved by the testimony and judgment of his Colleagues and the people.”

^r ἐπιϋψιζόμενης Conc. T. ii. p. 1150 ed Col.

^s συμψήφου

^t ψιζόμενον Act. 12. Conc. iv. 1624.

Bishop, one pointed out by God, and having the suffrages^u of all over whom he is to be shepherd, to be ordained by the Church there." Another says, "^vThe Bishops of the Province know most about them [the two Bishops;] so let them say, according to their reverence and awe of God, who ought to have the see of Ephesus."

Yet even in the very strongest but very rare case, when the People, actuated by what seems to be a Divine impulse, or, once, almost by force, constrained the Bishops to elect and consecrate the object of their choice, it was still, in theory, acknowledged that the decisive judgment was that of the Bishops. St. Gregory of Nazianzum relates, how, in Julian's time, "some^w Bishops came to Cæsarea, to give the People a Bishop;" and that the whole People, naturally full of eagerness, seized one distinguished for piety, but as yet unbaptised, against his will, and, with a military force which happened to be there, presented him to the Bishops for Baptism and Consecration, mingling constraint with persuasion. The Bishops "were constrained, baptised, proclaimed [him Bishop] enthroned him, with their hands rather than their minds." They debated afterwards whether they should rescind their act; at the persuasion of St. Gregory's father, then Bishop of Nazianzum, they desisted, on the ground that it would have been

^u Ἀντιζόμενος Act. 11. p. 1617, 20. ^v Ib. 1625.

^w Orat. 18. funebr. in patr. § 33. p. 354 ed. Ben.

better to have resisted to the utmost and incurred any peril, than to revive discord afterwards.

In whatever way the Synod of Bishops was acted upon, it was still the executive body, and had the whole responsibility of what was done.

The whole question, however, how Bishops were elected, with whose concurrence, what degree of influence was exercised by any party, how much the Bishops thought it right to concede as to their election, is altogether distinct. The more the People were consulted in the choice of the Bishops and the more carefully the principle was observed, not to force any Bishop upon them against their will, the more implicit was likely to be their confidence in their Bishops, when appointed over them. Here, it occurs only as matter of evidence, that Synods of Bishops were convened in order to fill up the vacant sees; that, in consequence of the narrow extent and consequent numbers of the sees, the Bishops of each division had the more frequent occasion to meet in discharge of this office; and that, when they did meet, they formed a body, a whole by themselves, distinct from any others who were present. Whether they presented a Bishop for the acceptance or testimony of the People, or whether, in the rarer case, the People urged their own favorite upon the Bishops, in either case the decisive voice lay with the Bishops alone. An Ante-Nicene Greek Canon lays down, “^xIt is not meet that the

^x Can. Apost. 68.

Bishop should appoint whom he himself willed, bestowing by favor the dignity of the Episcopate on brother or son or some other relation. For it is not just that he should make heirs of his Episcopate; for he ought not to subject the Church of God to laws of heritage." It was alleged against Lucius, the Arian intruder into the see of Alexandria, that he was brought in "not^y by a Synod of Orthodox Bishops, not by the suffrage of true Clergy, not at the request of the Laity, as the laws of the Church expressly enjoin."

In the West, the third Council of Carthage laid down a rule which has since been perpetuated in the Western law and in the forms of our own: "z When we [the Bishops] meet to elect a Bishop, if any opposition should arise (for such things have been considered among us,) let not the three [who sufficed to consecrate] undertake to clear the person to be ordained, but let one or two more be called in; and in the midst of the people, for whom he is to be ordained, let the characters of the opponents first be discussed, then let their objections be thoroughly considered; and when he shall have been publicly cleared, let him be ordained."

The subject and method of this enquiry were laid down at the beginning of a Council of Bishops from all Africa under Aurelius,^a which was afterward received into the Decretals^b and became part of the Western law.

^y Theod. iv. 22. ^z Can. 40. ^a Conc. Carth. iv. can. 1. ^b Dist. 23. c. 2.

The relation of the Christians to the surrounding Heathen was, doubtless in early times, a hindrance to the meeting of large Synods of Bishops. Even in intervals of peace, there was always imminent peril of a general persecution ; general toleration did not preclude local or partial persecution ; in all persecutions the Bishops (as the Captains of the Christian army) were the especial object of Heathen enmity or malice ; any gathering from distant parts would have given colour to the imputation of disaffection and disloyalty, in which the Christians were any how involved by their antagonism to the religion of the Emperors. At times such Conventions were expressly prohibited. The prohibition records the fact that the Synods in the Ante-Nicene period were Synods of Bishops. Eusebius mentions this among the contrasts between Constantine and the persecuting Emperors who preceded him. “*They*^c forbade that Synods of Bishops should, on any account, any where be held ; *he* gathered to himself those out of all nations.”

So much were Synods of Bishops the law of the Church, that even Eusebius regards Licinius’ prohibition of them as intended to throw the Christians into confusion, and to force them also to break the laws either of the State or the Church. “*Having*^d no ground of accusation at hand, nor any thing for which to blame these men, he issues a law, straitly charging that the Bishops should no where and by

^c Vit. Const. iii. 1. ^d Ib. i. 31.

no means communicate with one another, nor any of them be permitted to sojourn in the Church of his neighbour, nor hold Synods or Councils, nor consider what should be for the common good. This was an excuse for overbearingness towards us. For we must needs either, by transgressing the law, expose ourselves to his vengeance; or if we obeyed it, break the sacred laws of the Church. For it was not possible to set right any questions of great moment, otherwise than through Synods. Besides, this God-hater, having decided to act contrariwise to the God-loving Prince [Constantine] issued this command. For he [Constantine] out of respect to the Priesthood, brought together the Priests [Bishops] for peace and harmony; but Licinius, essaying to destroy whatever was good, tried to disturb the harmonious concord."

We find accordingly in S. Cyprian, repeated notices how, in the judgment both of himself, and (in the vacancy of the see) of the Presbyters of the Roman Church, weighty matters must needs be deferred, until peace should be restored. The smaller half-yearly Synods might more readily escape notice; the conflux of any larger number of Bishops would doubtless have often been construed into a conspiracy against the State.

There are however, even during the second Century, notices of extraordinary Councils, convened, when occasion required, throughout the Christian world. Each separate Council was smaller; but the concurrence of the whole, or well-nigh the whole Church,

was obtained through Synods of Bishops in the several Provinces of the Empire.

In the question as to the time of the celebration of Easter, the practice of the Churches of Asia Minor was opposed to that "of the Churches throughout all the rest of the world." Eusebius relates ; "Synods^e and assemblies of Bishops met. They all, with one accord, framed by Epistles an Ecclesiastical decree for Christians every where." Eusebius then mentions in detail, as yet extant, the Synodal "Epistle of those then assembled in Palestine, over whom presided Theophilus Bishop of Cæsarea, and Narcissus Bishop of Jerusalem; another of the Synod at Rome, bearing the name of the Bishop, Victor; of the Bishops in Pontus, over whom Palmas presided, as the eldest; of the Churches in Gaul, under St. Irenæus; Osrhoene and the cities there; the Epistle of Bacchylus^f the Bishop of the Church of Corinth; and of very many others who having given one and the same opinion and judgment, decided in the same way; and all these, " he adds, "defined one and the same thing, that which I have mentioned." The words which he uses are throughout words which describe acts of authority.

All these were Synods of Bishops throughout the second Century. The Bishops enacted the decree, and promulgated it among the faithful every where.

^e H. E. v. 23. ^f S. Jerome says, "Bacchylus, Bishop of Corinth, distinguished under the same Severus, wrote an elegant Book on Easter in the person of all the Bishops of Achaia," de Virr. Ill. c. 44.

Equally, on the side of the Asiatics, mention is made of Bishops only. "Polycrates^s was chief of the Bishops of Asia, who assevered that they ought to keep the custom delivered to them from of old." Polycrates speaks of St. Philip and St. John and celebrated Bishops before him, Polycarp, and Thraseas, and Sagaris, and Papirius, and Melito, and seven Bishops, his own relations. "But I could," he adds, "make mention of the Bishops, who were present with me, whom you [Victor] requested me to call together, and I have called them, whose names if I write, they are great multitudes. But they, when they had seen me, little as I am, approved my epistle." "On this, Victor, who presided over the Romans, essays to cut off from the common unity, the Dioceses of all Asia [Minor] together with the neighbouring Churches, as heterodox; and proclaims by letters, that all the brethren there are excommunicate. But this did not please all Bishops. They, in turn, exhort him to thoughts of peace and brotherly unity and love. Their words too are preserved, sharply censuring Victor. Among whom Irenæus also, writing in the person of the brethren of Gaul, over whom he was set, mentions &c." Eusebius adds that "Irenæus corresponded not only with Victor, but with very many other rulers of Churches about the question which had been raised. The Bishops of Palestine, Narcissus, Theophilus, and with them Cassius Bishop of

^s Eus. II. E. v. 24.

the Church in Tyre, and Clerus Bishop of Ptolemais, and those who met with them in Synod on the tradition as to Easter which had come down to them by succession from the Apostles," attested that they kept Easter on the same day as those at Alexandria, and desired that "copies of their letter should be sent throughout the Church, that we may not be guilty towards those who readily deceive their souls."

Every step in settling the question, or in resisting its being settled, is spoken of as decided by Bishops. It was finally decided by Bishops at the Council of Nice.

In the same century Apollinarius Bishop of Hierapolis says "that^h the faithful in Asia, having many times and in many places met together to that end, and having examined the novel doctrines and declared them profane, and rejected the heresy, they (the Montanists) were thrust out of the Church, and excluded from Communion." "Serapionⁱ, Bishop of Antioch at that time after Maximine," mentions in an Epistle "the subscriptions of divers Bishops" to their condemnation. "One of them thus subscribed, Aurelius Cyrenius Martyr; I pray you may fare well. Another thus, Ælius Publius Julius Bishop of Develtum in Thrace, 'as God liveth who is in Heaven, the blessed Sotus Bishop of Anchialus wished to cast the demon out of Priscilla, but the hypocrites suffered it not.' And the autograph subscriptions of very many other Bishops

^h In Eus. H. E. v. 16. p. 220. ed Read.

ⁱ Ib. v. 19.

agreeing with these, are in circulation in the aforesaid letters." The letters of Serapion appear to have embodied a Synodical Epistle from the Bishops of Thrace (in which are Develtum and Anchialus) to Serapion.

The Synodicon supplies the number of Bishops at this Council. It mentions "a ^kCouncil held by Apollinarius and twenty six other Bishops at Hierapolis, which cut off Montanus and Maximilla and condemned Theodotus the tanner" as also one at Anchialus by Sotus and twelve other Bishops, which refuted and condemned Montanus. It enumerates also the Councils on the question of Easter, mentioned by Eusebius, specifying the number of Bishops. On the one side that by Polycrates at Ephesus; on the other, that at Rome, by Victor and fourteen other Bishops; Jerusalem by Narcissus with fourteen Bishops; Cæsarea by Theophilus and twelve other Bishops; Lyons by Irenæus and thirteen Bishops; Corinth by Bacchyllus and eighteen other Bishops; Asia Minor by Plasmas [Palmas] with fourteen other Bishops; Osrhoene "by eighteen Bishops, whose presiding Bishop is not mentioned;" Mesopotamia "by eighteen Bishops, whose President none of the Historians have mentioned." It states that a Roman Synod by Victor and fourteen other Bishops, rejected Theodotus, Ebion and Artemon; and another rejected Sabellius and Noetus with Valentinus.

The Synodicon was probably compiled in the ninth

^k Conc. i. 615.

Century, so that it is altogether a later authority ; it has also mistakes as to some of these early Councils. Yet the writer had manifestly some good information; the very fewness of the Bishops, stated to have been present at those Councils, the writer's readiness to acknowledge that he knew not things which he knew not, indicate a mind, which would neither exaggerate nor invent. His statement that "*none of the* Historians mentioned the name of the Bishop who presided at the Council in Mesopotamia," implies that he had access to writers no longer extant. This incidental testimony then, that Bishops only were present at each Council, given simply as it is, in the mention of the number present, may be regarded as authentic testimony. Allatius says, "the writer, whoever he was, was very pious." The Synodicon "was compiled most accurately in the time of Photius."

A writer on heresies, who lived before the middle of the fifth Century,¹ called Prædestinatus, mentions in the second Century a Synod of all the Sicilian Bishops, about A. D. 126. against the heresy of Heraclion^m; at Pergamus, of seven Bishops, under Theodotus, Bishop of Pergamus, against an astrological heresy of Colorbasusⁿ; a Council of Eastern Bishops against that of Cerdon with Apollonius Bishop of Corinth. He speaks of it as the act of Bishops^o [sa-

¹ Published by Sirmondus Opp. T. 1. The writer mentions Nestorius, and stops short of Eutyches.

^m de hæc. i. 16. Cone. i. 555. ⁿ Ib.c.15. p. 573. ^o Ib. c. 23. p. 583.

cerdotes] “to recall others from falling headlong, and to shew that they condemned sects, not men.”

In the next, the third century, Origen complains that the advice even of the Presbyters was not wont to be asked. “Who,” he says, (in contrast with Moses listening to Jethro) “Who, ^pof those who at this time are set over the people, I do not say, if aught be revealed to him by God, but if he have some attainment in the knowledge of the law, vouchsafes to receive counsel even of an inferior Priest? Much less of a layman or Gentile.”

Origen’s complaint of the neglect of the inferior Clergy was indeed unjust; for he himself had, as a Presbyter, been called in to help by argument in two important Councils, as Theologians have been present in later Western Councils, although without any voice in deciding.

These two Councils were held in Arabia. In the first, Origen was employed to bring Beryllus a distinguished Bishop of Bostra, back to the faith; in the other, he was employed to recover some who held a strange doctrine as to the corruptibility of the soul. In both he was successful. Of the Council as to Beryllus (A. D. 229.) Eusebius relates, “at^q that time, Beryllus,—having perverted the Ecclesiastical rule [of faith,] essayed secretly to introduce certain things alien from the faith, venturing to say that our Lord and Saviour did not exist in a Personality of His

^p In Exod. Hom. xi. n. 6. p. 171. ed. de la Rue. ^q H. E. vi. 33.

own, before He came to dwell among men. In this matter, very many Bishops having put questions and disputed with the man, Origen, having been called in with others, first entered into intimate conversation with the man, &c. There are yet extant in writing the documents of Beryllus and the Synod held on account of him, which also contain the questions of Origen to him &c."

Of the second Council Eusebius says, "Again^r in Arabia there sprung up those who would bring in a doctrine foreign from the truth. These said, that the human soul for a while in this present world died and was corrupted together with the body, but would live again with it at the time of the resurrection. Then also, no small Synod having been assembled, Origen, being again requested here too, and having discussed the question before the assembly, so bore himself, that the minds of those before deceived were changed back again."

The Synodicon mentions Origen only and fourteen Bishops as present in this Synod.

It is plain that 1. Origen, a presbyter, is spoken of as distinct from the Synod of Bishops who called him in. 2. Origen could not have used the above language of laymen, had they formed part of the Synod and had a decisive voice in it.

A. D. 230. Demetrius Bishop of Alexandria held a Council on Origen himself, because, "quum se sponte

abscidisset," he had, against the law of the O. T.^e and of the Church, been ordained Priest, by Theotecnus Bishop of Cæsarea, without the cognizance of his own Bishop. Pamphilus, his Apologist, relates that "Demetrius^s gathered a Council of Bishops and of certain (*πρωτοι*) Presbyters, which decreed that Origen should remove from Alexandria, and neither live nor teach there, but that he should not be removed from the honor of the Presbyterate."

A. D. 232. Demetrius held a second Council on Origen. Pamphilus says, "Demetrius^t with certain Egyptian Bishops, deprived him of the Presbyterate too, those who had voted with him subscribing with him the interdict." Origen's own displeasure shews that the Synods consisted exclusively of Ecclesiastics. S. Jerome says, "Whereas^u that Epistle [of Origen] pulls to pieces Demetrius Bishop of Alexandria, and inveighs against the Bishops and Clergy of the whole world, and says that he was causelessly excommunicated by the Churches &c." And again, "Disputing generally against the Priests [Bishops, sacerdotes] of the Church, by whom he had been held unworthy of her communion."

Origen was condemned in a Roman Synod. "Origen^v is condemned by Demetrius the Bishop, excepting the Bishops of Palestine and Arabia, and Phœ-

^s Photius cod. 118. p. 297.

^t *Id. Ib.*

^u *cont. Ruf. ii. 18. p. 509, 10. ed. Vall.*

^v *id. Ep. 33. quoted by Ruf. Inv. ii. 19.*

nicia, and Achaia. The City of Rome joined in his condemnation. It gathers a Synod against him."

Two more, insulated Councils are mentioned at this time. In one about A. D. 235. ^w Heraclas, Patriarch of Alexandria is said to have gathered a Synod of Bishops, and in it to have brought back Ammonius to the truth. In the other, a Synod of Achaia, the Valesians were condemned.

The Councils held at this time upon heretical baptism, and those of Africa generally, had perhaps best be considered in connection with the times of S. Cyprian. Here it may be said generally, that a Council of Bishops was assembled on heretical baptism, by Agrippinus in Africa, probably before or about the beginning of the third Century ; "very large Councils were held," (S. Dionysius tells us) "long ago in the memory of the Bishops before us, at Iconium and Synnada and many other places." Laymen had been prohibited by a Council of Bishops, from making Clerks guardians of their children. The rule that "causes should be heard where the offence had been committed," had been enacted before S. Cyprian's time. S. Cyprian speaks of it to S. Cornelius, as having "been decreed by our whole body," i. e. all Bishops every where. The Canon intended by S. Cyprian is probably the tenth Apostolic Canon, which imposes a penalty on any one who receives to Communion one suspended from Communion in his own place.

^w Prædestin. i. 37. Conc. i. 671.

Such cases, if disputed, were, according to the thirtieth Canon, (which the Council of Nice enlarged) to be referred to the half-yearly Synod of the neighbouring Bishops. Wherever the Canon was first framed, it is another clear instance, in the Ante-Nicene period, of a Canon framed by the Bishops of a local Council and by them communicated to the whole Church which received it. It was received by the whole Episcopal body.

The Apostolic Canons generally must have been the fruit of Ante-Nicene Councils, although they do not, by themselves, prove the nature of those Councils.

We have then already Councils, consisting exclusively of Bishops, on various subjects, in communication with one another on what concerned the whole (as in the more extended heresies,) or apart ; ordinary or extraordinary ; for questions of ritual, (as the keeping of Easter and the close of the Lent fast,) or to judge and determine heresy; larger or smaller, as the case required or circumstances may have permitted. We have already Synodical letters from the Bishops assembled in Synod, and notices of subscriptions, as in the later times. The Synod, in this earliest period, is in full use and exclusively Episcopal.

CHAPTER. III.

Times of S. Cyprian. A. D. 249—258.

The history of the times of S. Cyprian the more establishes the principle of that inherent and independent authority of the Bishop, which insulated expressions of that gentle Father of his People have been quoted to disprove. But before we enter into the details which were personal to S. Cyprian, and enquire how much he, of his own mind, was pleased to forego or to suspend, it will be well to examine what, according to his principles and practice, were the office and prerogative of the Bishop. He taught then, habitually, that Bishops were chosen by the Lord^a; protected and inspired by Him^b in their government; governed by His^c Presence and the Church with them; made^d by God; that the Church^e was settled upon her Bishops and every act of the Church was regulated by them; and this, as ordained by “our Lord, determining the honour of a Bishop, and the ordering of His own Church;” that they “by vicarious^f ordination were successors of the Apostles;” that they preside^g in the Church of God, governing^h

^a Ep. 48. fin. 49. §. 2. p. 108. Oxf. Tr. 55, 6: 61, 2; 69. 6. ^b Ep. 48. fin.

^c “Christ Who by His Will and Fiat and Presence, governs the Prelates themselves, and the Church with the Prelates.” Ep. 66. §. 8. p. 207.

^d Ep. 3, 2. 55, 6. 7. 59. 6. p. 15.

^e Ep. 33. §. 1. p. 75.

^f Ep. 66. §. 3. Ep. 75. §. 17. p. 279. O. T.

^g Ep. 69. §. 4.

^h Conc. Carth. n. 79. Ep. 66. §. 3.

the Church of the Lord with the same power ; that the Bishop “isⁱ in the Church and the Church in the Bishop”: “that each^k Prelate hath in the government of the Church his own choice and will free, hereafter to give account of his conduct to the Lord,” “so long as the bond of concord remains, and the inseparable Sacrament of the Catholic Church endureth ;” that he is a judge^l in Christ’s stead ; a judge for the time appointed by God^m ; responsibleⁿ to Christ alone ; to be obeyed^o at peril of spiritual death, and this under the sanction of the word of God.

Collectively, of the Bishops in Council assembled he says, “the Divine^p favour will bring to pass, that we with the rest, our Colleagues, may stably and firmly administer our office, and uphold the peace of the Catholic Church in the unity of concord.”

On the case of the lapsed, as to whom individually he purposed, as we shall see, to have the opinion of the Laity, he says, “for the rest,^q as I have written to very many of my Colleagues, we will consider what is to be done more at large in a full Council, when, by God’s permission, we shall be enabled to meet together.” “Read^r these same Epistles to my Colleagues also, should any either be with you or come among you, that with unanimity and concert, we may take wholesome counsel for mollifying and healing

ⁱ Ep. 66, 7. ^k Ep. 72. fin. 73. fin. 59, 19. p. 166. Conc. Carth. p. 287.

^l Ep. 55. 17.

^m Ep. 66. 2.

ⁿ Conc. Carth. p. 286, 7.

^o Ep. 3. p. 5. 4, 4. 59, 5. 66, 2.

^p Ep. 48. fin.

^q Ep. 32. fin.

^r Ep. 34, 2.

the wounds of the lapsed ; purposing together to consider more fully concerning all, when, by God's mercy, we shall begin again to come together."

In the case of Felicissimus, whom he excommunicates, he writes to Bishop Caldonius and another Bishop, "all which matters we will then take cognizance of, when by God's permission we shall have met together with more of our Colleagues."

Such were the principles of S. Cyprian and his times as to the office of the Bishop, apart or with other Bishops. In principle, he asserted that the entire responsibility in the Church rested on the Bishops, that the sole authority, by the gift of God, rested with them.

With regard to this actual history, there are, in S. Cyprian's works, notices of Councils which had been held, and the Synodal letters of Councils, and in one case, the Acts of the Council. All alike attest that the decision in all matters, not those of faith only, but judicial questions and points of discipline, rested exclusively with the Bishops.

Thus, S. Cyprian writes to S. Cornelius that it had been decreed by the whole Episcopal Body in Africa, that causes were to be judged where the sin had been and not to be removed to another Province. "What ^t is the occasion of their going to you, and of their announcing that a pseudo-Bishop has been set up against the Bishop ? for either they are well-

^s Ep. 41. fin. p. 92. ^t Ep. 59, 19. p. 165.

pleased with what they have done, and persevere in their wickedness ; or if it displeases them and they withdraw, they know whither they should return. For since it has been decreed by our whole Body, and is alike equitable and just, that every cause should be there heard where the offence has been committed, and a portion of the flock has been assigned to the several shepherds, which each is to rule and govern, having hereafter to give account of his ministry to the Lord."

Again, he writes "It^u was long ago decreed in a Council of Bishops, that no one should by his will appoint one of the Clergy and Ministers of God to be executor or guardian."

S. Cyprian, in a small Synod of five Bishops, ^vdecides distinctly as to the abuse of the *συνεισάκτοι*, and concurs with the judgement of the Bishop who consulted him, as to the Deacon whom he had excommunicated.

In an African Synod of thirty seven Bishops^w he returns answer to the Clergy and People of Leon and Merida in Spain that Basilides and Martialis ought not to retain the Episcopate, that Basilides had made matters worse by imposing on Pope Stephen, and that his place had been rightly filled up.

In the same Epistle,^x he refers to a decree of

^u Ep. 1. init. ^v The four names joined in Ep. 4.
with S. Cyprian's, are in the same distinguished from the Presbyters,
"present with them:" the three first recur among the Bishops in Ep.
67; the two first, with the fourth, among those in Ep. 57.

^w Ep. 67.

^x Ib. fin. p. 213.

S. Cornelius, in conjunction with the African Bishops, and all the Bishops throughout the world, that those who had denied the faith, might be admitted to penance, but not restored to any Priestly office.

He is probably speaking of a Council, when he says, “to^r adulterers also is a time for penitence allowed *by us*, and peace given.” Any how, the question was decided by the Bishops alone, whether individually or collectively ; some of the Bishops judging that adulterers ought not to be restored to Communion, and so acting, and yet not separating from those who did restore them.

Of Privatus he writes, “I have^s signified to you, brother, by Felicianus, that there had come to Carthage Privatus, an old heretic in the Province of Lambesa, condemned many years since, for many and heinous crimes, by the sentence of ninety Bishops, and as you must needs bear in mind, very severely noted by the letters of our predecessors, Fabian and Donatus ; who, when he professed a wish to plead his cause before us in the Council held on the Ides of May just past, and was not suffered so to do, made this Fortunatus a pretended Bishop, one worthy of his College. Moreover in company with Privatus, a proud heretic, came Jovinus and Maximus, who for ungodly sacrificings and other crimes proved against them, were condemned by the sentence of nine

^r Ep. 55. ad Antonian. 16, 17. Tertullian speaks of an “Edict” of Pope Zephyrinus on the same subject i. e. probably a decision of Zephyrinus with a Roman Council, in conjunction with the African Council, as in the case of the lapsed.

^s Ep. 59. ad Corn. §. 12. p. 160.

Bishops and Colleagues, and were a second time excommunicated by very many of us, in a Council last year."

In Council with sixty-six Bishops,^t he, with them, decides that one, rashly restored to Communion, was not subsequently to be excluded ; that the Baptism of infants need not be deferred to the eighth day ; and that no one should be debarred from Baptism and from the Grace of God.

The decision of this Council was worded so exactly on the guilt and remission of original sin, "as though," S. Augustine "says, "through the Providence of God, the Catholic Church were already confuting the Pelagian heretics."

On the case of the lapsed, there are distinct accounts of at least four Councils ; on heretical Baptism, there are at least seven. All these are of Bishops only ; except that during the vacancy of the see of Rome, the Presbyters of the City took part in the first Roman Council on the lapsed.

S. Cyprian in a Council of forty-two Bishops writes to S. Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, of the decision of a former Council, "we^v had determined some time ago, dearest brother, having advised with one another, that they who in the fierce warfare of the persecution had been overthrown by the adversary and had fallen, and had defiled themselves by forbidden sacrifices, should do full penance for a long while, and if danger

^t Ep. 64. ad Fidum.

^u Ep. 166, ad Hieron. §. 24.

^v Ep. 57.

of sickness should press hard upon them, they should receive peace at the very point of death." They then say, the approach of another persecution which had been foretold, required that the people should be prepared for it. "We"^w [the Council]. have determined," he proceeds, "that peace is to be granted to those who have not departed from the Church of the Lord, but from the first day of their fall, have not ceased to do penance and to lament and to entreat the Lord, and that they ought to be armed and accoutred for the impending battle." They say that a difference ought to be made between those who had gone into heathen sin or heresy, and those who had persevered in repentance, and sum up; "It hath"^x seemed good to us, the Holy Spirit suggesting, and the Lord by many and plain visions admonishing, since the enemy is foretold and shewn to be close upon us, to gather the soldiers of Christ within the the camp, and having examined the case of each, to grant peace to the fallen [lapsis,] yea rather to supply arms to those about to fight. Which we trust will be approved also by you, in contemplation of the mercy of the Father."

The principles of that former Council S. Cyprian explains more fully in a letter to Antonian, a Bishop of the severer school. He says that in the first instance, when urged to restore the lapsed to Communion, "what"^y was to be determined in the case of

^w Ib. p. 138.

^x Ib. p. 141.

^y Ep. 55. §. 3. p. 119.

the lapsed I deferred; that when quiet and tranquillity had been bestowed, and the Divine mercy should *allow the Bishops to meet together*, then, the advice of all being given and weighed, we might, on comparison of all things, determine what ought to be done. But if any, *before our Council were held*, and before sentence given by advice of all, should choose rashly to communicate with the lapsed, that person should be forbidden Communion. However,^z according to what had been before determined, when the persecution was lulled and opportunity given for meeting together, *a large number of Bishops*, whom their own faith and the protection of the Lord had preserved uninjured and safe, met together; and, the Divine Scriptures being adduced on both sides, *we* balanced our resolution with wholesome moderation; so that neither should hope of communion and peace be altogether denied to the lapsed, lest through desperation they should fall away still further, and, because the Church was shut against them, following the world, should live as heathens; nor yet on the other hand should evangelical strictness be relaxed, so that they might rush in haste to Communion; but that penance should be long protracted, and the Fatherly clemency entreated with mourning; and the cases, and purposes, and exigencies of each be examined; as is expressed in a tract,^a which I trust has reached you, where the several heads of our determi-

^z Ib. §. 4. 5.

^a The De Lapsis.

nation are collected together. And lest the number of Bishops in Africa should seem insufficient, we wrote to Rome also on this subject to our Colleague Cornelius, who himself likewise, *in a Council held with very many of our Co-Prelates*, agreed in the same opinion with us, with like solemnity and wholesome moderation. Whereof it has now become necessary to write to you, that you may know that I did nothing lightly, but according to what I had before comprised in my Epistles, deferred every thing *to the common decision of our Council*, and in the mean time communicated with no one of the lapsed, so long as there was opportunity whereby the lapsed might obtain not only pardon, but even a Crown. But afterwards, *as the agreement of our College*, and the benefit from recovering the brotherhood and healing the wound required, I submitted to the necessity of the times, and thought right to provide for the safety of many, and not now recede from these things, which have once *in our Council by common consent been determined.*"

S. Cyprian's example was in both cases followed by the Roman Church. In the former case, it was an additional ground of delay on the part of the Church at Rome that they had no Bishop who could settle these matters ; yet even thus, they did what they could to obtain the judgment of Bishops. The Presbyters of Rome, who in the forced privation of a Bishop, were entrusted with the care of the Church at Rome, deliberated with neighbouring Bishops, and

others who having been the objects of persecution in their own sees, were then at Rome, (the Bishop being often singled out for persecution at his own sec.) “We^b then here, desiring to observe this moderate and tempered course in the treatment of these cases, have for a long time,—many of us, and moreover with several Bishops in our neighbourhood, and such as the heat of this persecution had driven from other distant Provinces—been of opinion, that nothing new should be done before the appointment of a Bishop, yet have thought that the care of the lapsed must be tempered with moderation ; and that mean-while, as long as it pleased God to delay the gift of a new Bishop, the case of those who can bear the delay should be kept in suspense.

On the subject of heretical Baptism, S. Cyprian mentions an African Council many^c years before, in which “Agrippinus,^d a man of excellent memory, with the rest, Bishops with him who at that time governed the Church of the Lord in the Province of Africa and Numidia, did, when by common counsel duly weighed, establish and confirm this.” S. Firmilian writes ; “All this,^e some having doubted^f thereon, we, some time since, [jampridem] being

^b Ep. 30. Presb. Rom. §. 8. p. 67. O. T.

^c Ep. 73. §. 3. p. 244. “In that now, many years, and a length of time have passed away, since under Agrippinus of honoured memory, very many Prelates being convened determined this.” Novatus of Tamugada speaks of “*the decree of our Colleagues, men of most sacred memory.*” Cone. Carth. n. 4. p. 288. Baronius supposes it to have been A. D. 215, as being a year of peace.

^d Ep. 71. fin. p. 239.

^e Ep. 75. §. 7. p. 274.

^f It appears from §. 20. that the doubt related not to the principle, but to the case of the Montanists.

assembled together in Iconium, a place in Phrygia, with those from Galatia, and Cilicia, and other neighbouring regions, confirmed, as to be held and firmly maintained against heretics."

S. Dionysius mentions another Council at Synnada, and that there were many besides. "I learnt^g this also, that those in Africa have not now, alone and wrongly, brought in this, but that long ago, too, in the time of the *Bishops* before us, in the most populous Churches, and in the Synods of the brethren in Iconium and Synnada, and by many, this was decreed. Whose decisions I cannot endure to overthrow, so casting forth strife and contention among them. For it is said, 'Thou shalt not move the boundaries of thy neighbour, which thy fathers have made.'"

The first Council under S. Cyprian himself was a Council of thirty-two Bishops, whose Synodical letter, addressed to eighteen Bishops of Numidia, is still extant.^h It begins, "When we were together in Council, dearest brethren, we read the letter which you addressed to us respecting those who are thought to be baptised by heretics and schismatics, whether, when they come to the one true Catholic Church, they ought to be baptised. Wherein, although ye yourselves also hold the Catholic rule in its truth and fixedness, yet since out of our mutual affection ye have thought good to consult us, *we deliver not our sentence* as though new, but, by a kindred harmony,

^g Ap. Eus. vii. 7.

^h Ep. 70. It is acknowledged by the Council of Trullo can. 2. See Note b. p. 232. O. T.

we unite with you in that, long since settled by our predecessors, and observed by us." The Bishops of the one Province under S. Cyprian answer the Bishops of the other.

In a second Council, the African and Numidian Bishops united to confirm the former. "Nowⁱ too when we had met together, Bishops of the Provinces both of Africa and Numidia, to the number of seventy-one, we again confirmed this same by our sentence, ruling that there is one Baptism, that appointed in the Catholic Church; and that accordingly, whosoever came from the adulterous and profane water, to be cleansed and sanctified by the truth of the saying water, are not re-baptised, but baptised by us."

S Cyprian in a Synodical^j letter writes to Pope Stephen, that this second Council of Bishops was assembled for many other matters also. "In order to the settling certain matters, and regulating them by the aid of our common counsel, we deemed it necessary, dearest brother, to assemble and hold a Council, whereat many Prelates were gathered together. In which Council many things were propounded and transacted. But wherein chiefly we thought it right to write to thee, and to confer with thy gravity and wisdom, is that which most concerneth the Episcopal authority, and the unity as well as dignity of the Catholic Church, &c.

On this followed Pope Stephen's renunciation of

ⁱ Ep. 73. §. 1. p 243.

^j Ep. 72. init. "Cyprian and the rest."

S. Cyprian's Communion, which itself was the act of a Council of Bishops.^k

In the third Council, "on the Baptism of heretics," we are told in the Acts themselves, that not only the Presbyters and Deacons "of the Bishops, but a great part of the Laity also were present." These were plainly the Laity of Carthage itself, since manifestly "a great part of the Laity" of eighty-seven Episcopates from the Provinces of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania could not be present, and the Presbyters and Deacons came with the Bishops as "*their* Presbyters and Deacons;" not so the Laity. The Acts open thus; "when¹ on the Calends of September very many Bishops from the Provinces of Numidia and Mauritania, with *their* Presbyters and Deacons, had met together at Carthage, a great part of the Laity being *also* present." But neither Presbyters, Deacons, nor Laity, gave either opinion or vote. S. Cyprian addresses his Colleagues^m only. "Ye have heard, most beloved Colleagues, what Jubaianus our fellow-Bishop has written to me &c." "It remains that we severally declare our opinion on this same subject, judging no one, nor depriving any one of the right of Communion, if he differ from us. For no

^k "Pope Stephen with the rest his Colleagues, yet himself more than the rest, resisted." (Vincent. Lir. I. 6.) The renunciation of Communion is mentioned by S. Cyprian himself (Ep. 74, 10.) and S. Firmilian (Ib. Ep. 75. §. 26. p. 284.) Peace was restored by his successor, S. Xystus.

¹ Among S. Cyprian's Epist. p. 286. The heading is, "The judgments of eighty-seven Bishops in the Council of Carthage on the question of baptising heretics."

^m So also Felix of Uthina. 28. "No one can doubt, most holy fellow-Prelates [cousacerdotes]

one of us setteth himself up as a Bishop of Bishops, or by tyranical terror forceth his Colleagues to a necessity of obeying ; inasmuch as every Bishop, in the free use of his liberty and power, has the right of forming his own *judgment*, and can no more be judged by another than he can himself judge another." The eighty-seven Bishops then not only exclusively give their judgments, but the whole Synod is called "so large an assembly of most holy Prelates". All give their judgments, but many, with words expressing that they are delivering formal judgments.^o

On the other hand, the language of S. Cyprian, which has been dwelt upon as implying an admission of lay-authority, relates, not to Synods but to the wisdom of his government or the special case of those who, after openly denying the faith in persecution, desired to be restored individually to the Communion of the Church. The whole question had nothing to do with legislative Synods. The Bishops, as we have seen, by one agreement through the whole Church, settled the principles as to the restoration of the lapsed. S. Cyprian, when writing to his own People, is writing not about provincial or legislative Synods, but as to his own way of proceeding in his own particular Diocese, in examining with his Clergy, individual cases, in the presence of his People.

ⁿ Sacerdotum, a title of Bishops. n. 8. ^o Bp. Sage (Vindication of Cyprianic age, p 382.) thus recounts them "Censeo" n. 2. 8. 11. 16. 22. 31. 32. 33. 37. 41. 43. 72. 74. 83. (with 84. 85.) 86. decerno. n. 6. 38. 59. Mea sententia est. n. 9. 87. Secundum motum animi mei dico. n. 73. Existimo. n. 78.

That great Bishop and Saint, so deeply imbued with the love of the Church and of souls, and of unity, as furthering both and as the bond of Christ, was raised by God, in very stormy times, to hold together by the grace, wisdom and love which God gave him, the conflicting elements in the Church. He saw clearly what was to be done : he would not do it, until he had won the minds of men, so that, unperceived, his own mind was impressed upon all. But in his very statement of his principle of action, he shews that he was forbearing and suspending the exercise of his own right, not conceding any right of others. It is in speaking of the restoration of the lapsed that he lays down the memorable rule of his Episcopate. "As^p regards the matter whereon our fellow-Presbyters, Donatus and Fortunatus, Novatus and Gordius, wrote to me, I could give no answer by myself ; in that, from the beginning of my Episcopacy, *I resolved* to do nothing of my own private judgment without your advice and the concurrence of the People : but when by the grace of God, I shall have come to you, we will consult together of the things which either have been or are to be done, as respect^a for another requireth."

In that he says "*I resolved* to do nothing of my own private judgment," he shews that he had the

^p Ep. 14. fin. p. 37. O. T.

^a "Sicut mutuus honor poscit." The expression is illustrated by that in Ep. 19. of the Laity "quibus et ipsis pro fide et timore suo honor habendus est."

power, had he so thought good. He could not have so spoken, unless he had authority fully in himself, to do otherwise. English Sovereigns could not speak now, as if it were a concession to consult their Parliaments, because it would be unconstitutional not to consult them.

Again, in that, in the same place, he spoke of "consulting together of the things which either have been, or are to be, done, *as our respect for one another requireth*," he could not be speaking of actual voting, in which all who give votes, are so far equal. He is plainly speaking of mutual courtesy, not of a prescriptive right.

With regard to the case of the lapsed, it was one which (as we know by experience, even amid our laxity of discipline) touched the Laity very nearly. The re-admission of careless livers to Communion, without adequate knowledge or token of their repentance, is very often a scandal to communicants, and was wont, among ourselves, to be one of the taunts of dissenters. S. Cyprian himself mentions this difficulty in his Epistle to Cornelius. He speaks of the responsibility of restoration resting with himself, and of his own moral obligation, not to restore some, at the risk of injuring others. "These,^r when they saw that a pseudo-Bishop was set up amongst them, discovered that they were cheated and deceived, and day by day stream back, and knock at the door of

^r Ep. 59. §. 20. p. 166. O. T.

the Church. We however, who must give account to the Lord, meanwhile anxiously ponder and carefully examine, *who* ought to be received and admitted to the Church. For to some, either their own crimes form so great a hindrance, or the brethren so resolutely and firmly object, that they cannot be received at all, without the scandal and peril of very many. For neither should some ulcerous parts be so brought together, as to occasion wounds in others that are whole and sound; nor is he a useful and prudent shepherd, who so mingles the diseased and tainted sheep with his flock, as to afflict his whole flock with the infection of their contagious malady." S. Cyprian speaks, as having to give account to God, with a moral responsibility towards his flock, that he injure not those committed to him, but as having the entire authority in the whole matter. His responsibility lay in the due exercise of his authority.

It was part of the object of the course of public penitence, that the lives of those who had fallen into deadly sin might be observed, and so it might be known that they could safely be restored to Communion. S. Cyprian states this, in one of the very letters in question. "Since^s in lesser offences, which are not committed against God" [directly, as in the denial of the faith itself] "penance is done for an appointed time and confession made, with enquiry into the life of him who is doing penance, nor may

^s Ep. 17. p. 43.

any come to Communion, unless hands shall first have been laid upon him by the Bishop and Clergy, how much more in these most grievous and extremest cases, ought all things to be observed with caution and reverence, according to the discipline of the Lord!"

But with regard to the abstract power of restoring the lapsed, it is acknowledged to lie with S. Cyprian, by the Martyrs^t who send the petition to him. When others, misled by certain Presbyters, presuming upon the honour in which they were held for their sufferings for Christ, used an authoritative tone, granting reconciliation to all those, of whose conduct, subsequent to their lapse, the Bishop should be satisfied, they still directed their "decision," (as they called it) to S. Cyprian, and through him to his Colleagues, as believing that the absolute power of restoring the lapsed, rested with them. "We" desire, through you to make known this our decision to other Bishops also." He himself decides^v to accept those petitions in behalf of such of the lapsed as might be dangerously ill; restoring those also who after denying Christ, confessed Him and were banished.

The power of the Bishop is evidenced both by S. Cyprian^w who abides by his first decision, and by the other Bishops who were overborne by the clamorous demands of the lapsed and received them to communion at once.^x In both cases, it was acknowledged that the decision was with the Bishops. The "Laity

^t Ep. 15. and 16. §. 3. and 17. p. 43.

^u Ep. 23.

^v Ep. 18. and 19.

^w Ep. 24. 5.

^x Ep. 27. §. 3.

who stood" were not consulted by either. S. Cyprian bids his Presbyters ^y abide by his former letters, circulates them and his treatise "on the lapsed" "among as many other of his Colleagues [the Bishops] as he can," "in order that one rule of discipline might be observed by all." He receives from them the approval of "what he had^z settled." He^a also in the vacancy of the see, communicates the state of things to the Presbyters of Rome,^b and so obtains from Italy the concurrence of those who for the time acted as "ruling Presbyters" at Rome and of other Italian^c Bishops. At Rome too the lapsed were bidden to wait for the appointment of a Bishop,^d as at Carthage for his return. S. Cyprian circulates their letters as well as those of Roman Confessors in answer to his own, writes to "very many of his Colleagues," that they would consider what was to be done in a very full Council.^e To the lapsed themselves he lays down the broad principle^f; "thence [from our Lord's commission, S. Matt. 16. 18. 19.] the ordination of Bishops and the ordering of the Church runs down along the course of time and line of succession, so that the Church is settled upon her Bishops; and every act of the Church is regulated by these same Prelates. Since then this is founded on the divine law" &c. The delay of the decision as to the lapsed was determined, not by the Laity, but "as ^gwell by us [S. Cyprian] as by the Confessors and Clergy of the City,

^y Ep. 26. ^z Quod statuimus. ^a Ep. 25. ^b Ep. 27. ^c Ep. 30. §. 11. p. 67.

^d Ep. 21. p. 51. 30. §. 8. p. 65. ^e Ep. 32. ^f Ep. 33. ^g Ep. 43. §. 2.

as also by all the Bishops established in our Province or beyond seas."

The rejection of this by Felicissimus and his adherents, S. Cyprian speaks of as "a^h destruction of all sacerdotal [i. e. Episcopal] authority."

The extent of the lapsed, the danger of their total apostacy, the easiness of some Presbyters or Bishops, the rigidity of others, the existence of stern principles which deviated into Novatianism, the intercessions and presumptuous claims of some of the Confessors, made the whole case one of extreme difficulty, aggravated by the presence of a party personally opposed to S. Cyprian. But the office to which S. Cyprian on this occasion admitted the Laity, was to judge the cases of individuals, not to legislate. They were not to determine the principles of the restoration of the lapsed, but the merits of individuals. S. Cyprian fixes the time, and the fact of the restoration; he reserves to the judgment of the Laity, not any principle of discipline, but the *facts* of each individual case. "Whenⁱ peace is first given to us all by the Lord, and we have begun to return to the Church, each case shall be examined in your presence, and with aid of your judgment." So again in another Epistle, which has been of late quoted for the contrary. S. Cyprian himself decides that those who had received letters from the Confessors, might on their death-beds be received to Communion; he

^h 1b.

ⁱ Ep. 17. p. 43. O. T.

reserves the enquiry into the cases of the rest, to be settled in common. It is again, a question of fact, not of principle. "This^k is becoming to the modesty and discipline and character of us all; that the Bishops meeting with the Clergy, and in the presence of the Laity who stand fast, to whom also, for their faith and fear, honour is to be shewn, may settle all things with the due reverence of common consultation." The Laity are not present even here of right; but out of the regard which S. Cyprian had for their steadfastness, he wished that they should be consulted as to the case of those who, having denied the faith, sought to be restored to their communion. In another passage alleged,¹ an African Council under S. Cyprian censures the hasty and premature restoration of one of the lapsed, the more because it had been done, without the request or knowledge of the People, when no sickness urged, nor necessity compelled. A hasty restoration was the more gratuitous, when without occasion or temptation.

The people had no formal vote, but they had knowledge of facts, (as neighbours are wont to have now) which the Bishops and Clergy might not have. S. Cyprian bears witness that they know the case of some better than himself, who had restored them. "Thou^m wouldest see," he says to S. Cornelius, "what labour I have to persuade our brethren to patience, that, stifling their grief of mind, they would consent

^k Ep. 19. p. 46.¹ Ep. 64. p. 195.^m Ep. 59. §. 21. p. 167.

to receive and restore the wicked. For as they rejoice and are glad, when such as are bearable and less culpable return ; so contrariwise they murmur and resist, as often as the incurable and froward, and such as have been contaminated either by adulteries or sacrifices, and who, with all this, are moreover proud, return in such manner to the Church, that they would corrupt the good dispositions within it. I scarcely persuade the people, rather I extort it from them, that they would allow such to be admitted. And the grief of the brotherhood appears the more reasonable, in that some few, who, when the people strove and spoke against it, were yet admitted by my easiness, have proved worse than they were before, and have not been able to keep their pledges of repentance, because neither was the repentance true, wherewith they returned."

S. Cyprian himself speaks expressly of the office of the Laity, as relating to each particular case. "The "blessed Martyrs have written to me about certain persons, requesting that their desires may be considered. When peace is first given to us all by the Lord, and we have begun to return to the Church, each case shall be examined in your presence, and with aid of your judgment." And again "that when^o by the mercy of God, we shall come to you, having summoned several of my Colleagues, we may, after the discipline of the Lord and in the presence of

ⁿ Ep. 17. p. 43.

^o Ib. p. 44.

the Confessors, and your judgment also had, examine the letters and requests of the Blessed Martyrs." The letters and requests of the Martyrs related to individual cases ; so then did the judgment of the People.

The same is the bearing of all the passages in which S. Cyprian speaks of the participation of the Laity. Thus, as already cited, he says, in contrast with the haste of some of the lapsed to be restored to Communion ; "This^p is becoming to the modesty and character of us all ; that the Bishops meeting with the Clergy, and in the presence of the Laity who stand fast, (to whom also, for their faith and fear, honour is to be shown,) may settle all things with the due reverence of common consultation." This he says, in contrast with the "irreverent" haste of others. But here too he speaks of it, as a concession to the people, for their exemplary conduct, not as their right ; "the Laity who stand fast, to whom also, for their faith and fear, honour is to be shewn." S. Cyprian could not so have written as to a right. But the whole concession relates to the merits or demerits of individuals, not to any principles. The Laity were present as witnesses, not even as Jury, much less as Judge.

The Roman Clergy, and Moses and Maximus with the Confessors, echo S. Cyprian's language. They speak of the case of the lapsed, as a special case, on account of their great multitude. But the Roman Clergy speak

^p Ep. 19. p. 46.

of the Bishop as having the authority. They themselves are obliged the more to delay, because they had no Bishop. "On us^a there lieth a further necessity for delaying this matter, in that, since the decease of Fabianus of most honoured memory, on account of the difficulties of circumstances and the times, we have no Bishop yet appointed, who should settle all these matters, and might, with authority and counsel, take account of those who have lapsed. However, in a business of such vast magnitude we agree with what you also have yourself fully expressed; that the peace of the Church must be awaited, and then, in a full conference of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons and Confessors, with those of the Laymen also who have stood, account be taken of the lapsed. For it seems to us both very invidious and oppressive, to examine without advice of many, what many have committed, and for one to pass sentence, when so great a crime is known to have spread and extended itself among great numbers; neither indeed can a decree be firm, which shall not appear to have the consent of numbers."

Moses and Maximus write with the same express reference to the words of S. Cyprian; "A^r great sin which has spread with incredible desolation over almost the whole world, ought only, as you write, to be dealt with, with caution and moderation, in a consultation of all the Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons,

^a Ep. 80. §. 8. p. 65.

^r Ep. 31. §. 7. p. 73.

Confessors, and Laymen too who have stood fast, as you yourself testify ; lest, while we attempt unseasonably to repair the ruins, we should be found to occasion other and greater.”

So again as to the case of two Subdeacons and an Acolyte, “who withdrew in the middle of the persecution, and afterwards returned,” it is still a question of each single case. “In^s this matter the case of each must be considered separately, and decided more fully and more accurately, with advice not only of my Colleagues, but of the whole People.”

In another place, S. Cyprian speaks of suspending the refractory Presbyters by his own authority, and hearing their cause on his return, before the whole People ; but he gives no hint that he is speaking of any thing more than a public trial. “Meanwhile^t let certain rash and incautious and swelling persons among you, who fear not God nor regard man, be assured, that they shall no longer persevere in the same. I will use that admonition which the Lord bids me use ; so that they shall be restrained meanwhile from offering, and have to plead their whole cause both before me and the Confessors themselves and the whole People, when, by permission of the Lord, we shall begin to be re-assembled in the bosom of our Mother the Church.”

S. Cyprian^u once more announced to his People

^s Ep. 34. §. 3. p. 78.

^t Ep. 16. fin.

^u Ep. 43. fin. p. 98.

the close of the persecution ; “ so that ” he says “ after Easter Day I shall be again restored to you with my Colleagues ; in whose presence we shall be able to arrange and perfect the things that are to be done, both according to your judgment, and the common advice of us all, as hath been already determined.”

These are all the statements, (I believe,) which occur in S. Cyprian, as to the presence of the Laity. They amount at the utmost to this, that S. Cyprian, of his own will, brought certain causes before them, and judged those causes in their presence, taking their opinion, in part, on individual cases. He thought right not to exercise his power of restoring the lapsed individually to Communion, without the general concurrence of the Laity, although there was no question or thought of any formal vote to be given by them.

The restoration of the Confessors, who had joined the schism of Novatian, in some degree illustrates this. S. Cornelius assembled the Presbyters of Rome and five Bishops : the Bishops alone gave their opinions. Then the Confessors, who had been imposed upon and repented, were re-admitted, and finally presented before the People, and received, not by any formal vote, but with the strongest^v approbation.

^v This passage illustrates the use of “suffragium,” “suffragia,” which do not mean a formal vote, but approbation of that which might be done or was done without it. S. Cyprian had himself with two other Bishops excommunicated Felicissimus. Yet he writes to his people ; “ Let them alone undergo the punishment of their conspiracy, who, formerly, according to your suffrages, now according to God’s judgments, have deserved to undergo the sentence of their own conspiracy and malignity.” Ep. 43. §. 4. p. 96. Bishop Sage enters more at length into other instances, Vindication c. 7. n. 35--38.

[maximo suffragio.] “The whole^w proceedings therefore, being laid before me, it seemed good that the Presbyters should be assembled. There were there also five Bishops, who to-day also were present, in order that by weighty advice, it might be settled by consent of all, what ought to be done regarding their persons. And that you may know the feeling of all, and the advice of each, it seemed good that our several opinions, which you will find subjoined, should be brought to your knowledge.”

It is remarkable, that S. Cyprian does so frequently refer to the People in the single case of the lapsed, or of hearing causes before them, whereas he does not allude to them in any other case whatever. They are mentioned, as being *present* at the Council of Carthage, as they were invited to be present at discussions whereby they might gain instruction. But the contrast is very striking, that throughout the question of the restoration of those who had denied the faith, mention is made of the Laity and of their judgment ; throughout that as to heretical Baptism, there is no reference whatever to them. Plainly, because S. Cyprian wished for their concurrence as to the restoration of offenders. The question of heretical Baptism was a matter of doctrine, in which the Laity were not to concur in judging, but were to be taught.

But, again, it seems to have belonged to a vivid appreciation of the unity of the whole body of Christ, that all its members were spoken of, as banded and

^w Ep. 49. §. 3. p. 107.

bound together in one common interest, not in the way of voting, nor of share of responsibility, but in the bonds of the love of Christ. This was probably the ground of the wording of the Apostolic decree. Not as though the People must have a voice, because their names were used, but because they obeyed the Apostles; and what the Apostles taught, they believed; and so, without responsibility or choice as to the matter itself (for they had no choice except to believe those whom God had sent) the Apostles united them with themselves, and “*they* clave to the Apostles’ doctrine and fellowship,” and in both ways it was shewn, how all were one in Christ Jesus.

So Holy Scripture bids us “Bear ye one another’s burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.” So the old law forbids to “suffer^x sin upon thy neighbour.” So, not as usurping offices which do not belong to them, may the teachers as well as the taught concur to “the perfecting of the body of Christ.” So S. Cyprian associates the People in a matter, in which they could have none but an individual influence. He says of the case of the *συνεισάκτοι*; “in^y nothing must both Bishops and People labour more earnestly than that we who fear God should observe with all diligence the precepts of His holy discipline; nor suffer our Brethren to go astray, and live after their own devices and lusts, but that we should faithfully consult the eternal welfare of every one.”

^x Lev. xix. 17.

^y Ep. 4. p. 8. O. T.

So when certain Presbyters had not only neglected their duty, but perverted the People, he writes to them, "I^z know both the meekness and the fear of our People, that they would have been watchful in appeasing and deprecating the wrath of God, had not certain of the Presbyters, in order to please, deceived them. Do then even ye guide them individually, and by your advice and restraint, temper the minds of the lapsed in accordance with the Divine precepts." He uses the strong words, *regite, temperate*, of the lawful influence of individual laymen upon one another.

So the Roman Clergy, in an anonymous and very invidious Epistle,^a (for which S. Cyprian gently reproves^b them) having said "it is incumbent upon us, who seem to be set over the flock, to guard it instead of the shepherd" [the Bishop of Rome in the vacancy of the See, and seemingly of Carthage in the absence of S. Cyprian] still join the Laity with themselves. "The Brethren who are in bonds, salute you, as do the Presbyters, and the whole Church, which also with the utmost solicitude watches for all who call upon the Name of the Lord."

To sum up, S. Cyprian states without hesitation and in the most varied ways, that the entire spiritual authority in the Church of Christ had been given by Christ Himself to the Bishops. Every principle, whether of doctrine or discipline, was laid down by

^z Ep. 17. p. 43.

^a Ep. 8.

^b Ep. 9.

the Bishops exclusively. Judgments on heresy were pronounced by the Bishops alone. The whole proceedings as to the lapsed themselves, the delay of restoration, the mitigation of the enactment, and the final reception of the whole number, on the approach of a new persecution, were regulated, step by step, by the Bishops exclusively. The opinion of the Laity was taken solely as to a matter of fact which came before their eyes, the outward tokens of the penitence or impenitence of the individuals who sought to be restored to Communion. And even here, the Bishop, if he thought right to over-rule the opinion expressed by the People, exercised that power naturally, as wholly vested in himself. S. Cyprian's letters give a vivid picture of his times ; they give, not only the outward facts of an eventful time, but the inward feelings of the actors. They mention what was willingly of free grace allowed by S. Cyprian ; they mention the desires, wishes, requests, repugnances, of the several parties. But there is not the slightest trace of any wish of the Laity to assume to themselves any part of the legislation, which our Lord had entrusted to the Bishops. There was no question at that time about Episcopal authority, for under the New Law it had been included by God under the fifth commandment, as the Levitical Priesthood had been under the Old.

CHAPTER IV.

*From S. Cyprian's martyrdom A. D. 258. to the
Council of Nice. A. D. 325.*

These seventy years are chiefly marked by the rise of the Arian heresy and its forerunners in the East, and the Donatist heresy in the West ; the former issuing in the Council of Nice, the Donatist in the great Council of Arles.

The author of the Synodicon states that S. Dionysius of Alexandria gathered a Synod in which he condemned Sabellius. While he was "trying to withdraw some Bishops in the Pentapolis in Upper Libya from the Sabellian heresy^c," he was misunderstood by "some of the brethren, who betook themselves to Rome, and spoke against him to his namesake Dionysius, Bishop of Rome. He wrote to Dionysius, to signify upon what they had spoken against him." "The charge," S. Athanasius says,^d "gave great pain to the Roman Council and the Bishop of Rome, who expressed their united sentiments in a letter to his namesake, [Dionysius of Alexandria.] This led to his writing an explanation, which he called a 'book of refutation and defence.' The Roman Coun-

^c S. Ath. de sent. Dionys. c. 5. 13. ^d Id. Coun. Arim. and Seleuc. §. 43. p. 142. Oxf. Tr.

cil consisted exclusively of Bishops; for S. Athanasius goes on to speak of all concerned in this, as “the^e two Dionysii and the Bishops assembled on that occasion at Rome.”

Three Councils apparently^f were held soon afterwards against Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, who taught that our Lord “was an ordinary man.” To the first Council, Eusebius says that Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, being asked to come, excused himself on account of age and infirmity. “But the other Shepherds^g [i. e. Bishops] of the Church came from different quarters, all hastening to Antioch as against a waster of the flock of Christ. Of these, the most distinguished were Firmilian Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Gregory and Athenodorus, Brothers, Shepherds of the districts in Pontus; Helenus Bishop of Tarsus; and Nicomas of Iconium; Hymenæus of the Church at Jerusalem; and Theotecnus of the neighbouring Cæsarea; Maximus also, who governed admirably the brethren at Bostra. There would be no difficulty in recounting multitudes of others, who together with their Priests and Deacons were there gathered together at Antioch for the same cause. But the above were the most eminent.” “Firmilian,” the Bishops of the second Council say in their Syno-

^e Ib. §. 45. p. 143.

^f The Bishops of the last Council say in their Synodical letter, that S. Firmilian who seems to have presided at the Council, “had *twice* come to Antioch on this matter, and condemned the heresy.” He died on his way to the Council from which this letter was written.

^g Eus. H. E. vii. 28. ποιμένες (Bishop Sage remarks, Vindication of the principles of the Cyprian. agc. vii. 28. p. 387.) in Eusebius always means “Bishop.

dical letter,^h "having twice come to Antioch, condemned his [Paulus'] innovations, (as we who were present know and testify, and many others know equally;) but when Paul promised to change, he [S. Firmilian] believing and hoping that the matter would be corrected without any scandal to religion, deferred his judgment, being deceived by him who denied also his own God and Lord, and guarded not the faith which he himself before had."

In the last of these councils, (A. D. 269, 70.) "a Council," Eusebius says, ⁱ"of most exceeding many Bishops, the leader of the Antiochene heresy, having been detected and now clearly condemned by all, was ejected from the Catholic Church under heaven. But especially Malchion convicted him, while hiding his guilt; a man eloquent, having been head of the Greek School of dialectic at Antioch, and who, for the exceeding purity of his faith in Christ, had been counted worthy of the Presbytery in the Church there. He pressing upon Paul his enquiry (which having been taken down by notaries we know to be still extant) was, alone of all, able to detect the crafty man, skilful as he was in concealing his meaning."

Malchion, having rendered this eminent service,^k and being, in fact, the actual writer^l of the Synodical Epistle, was allowed by the Bishops to join on his name to theirs. In the former Council, "questions had been moved in every session, the

^h ap. Eus. vii. 30.

ⁱ vii. 29.

^k "He is in consequence commemorated in the Greek Menology Oct. 28." Val. ad loc.

^l S. Jerome de virr. ill. v. Malchion.

Samosatene trying to hide his heterodoxy, the others to lay bare his heresy and blasphemy against Christ." Paul had succeeded. In *this* Council Malchion alone detected him. But as a Presbyter, he could refute, he could not sit in judgment on the Patriarch. Eusebius ascribes the condemnation to the Bishops (whose alone it could be;) the detection to Malchion. When then the Synodical Epistle, after enumerating the more eminent names, adds "and Malchion and Lucius, and all who with us are dwelling in the neighbouring Cities and Provinces, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and the Churches of God, to our beloved brethren in the Lord, greeting," it is plain that this attests the unity of all under their Bishops, not their authority over their Patriarch to depose him.

The Bishops write to "Dionysius and Maximus, and to our fellow Ministers throughout the world, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and to the whole Catholic Church under heaven," and so they write in the name of the whole Patriarchate of Antioch, "Bishops, Priests, and Deacons and the Churches of God." But they who wrote, Eusebius says, were the Bishops of one Patriarchate to the two remaining Patriarchs. "The shepherds [i. e. Bishops] who were convened together, having, by common consent, addressed a letter personally to the Bishop of the Romans, Dionysius, and to Maximus the Bishop of Alexandria, send it round to all the Eparchies."

This Council became the subject of discussion, because the Arians alleged that the Bishops who

condemned the Samosatene laid down in writing that "the Son is not One in Substance with the Father" i. e. as understood heretically by him. They are spoken of as "the seventy¹" or "eighty^m Bishops." The act is spoken of, as wholly theirs. When Paul refused to cede the see-house to Domnus, who had been elected in his room by the Council of Antioch, the heathen Emperor Aurelian being appealed to, gave the question to be decided by Bishops, "the ⁿ Bishops of the doctrine in Italy and the City of the Romans."

The Council of Eliberis or Elvira about A. D. 305. formed eighty-one Canons on discipline. Only nineteen Bishops were present, but among them the great Hosius, subsequently ^o the President of Councils, at Nice and Sardica. Many ^p of the Canons of the larger Council of Arles A. D. 314. were taken from it. The brief notice prefixed is, "When the holy and religious Bishops had taken their seats together in the Church of Eliberis, i. e. Felix Bishop of Guadix, Hosius &c, twenty-six Presbyters also sitting down, the Deacons standing by, and all the People, the Bishops said, &c." Most of the Canons run in the form, "It hath seemed good." Placuit. All are absolute. The Priests, Deacons and People may have been present, either for temporary causes, then settled by the Bishops in Council, or to hear these Canons

¹ S. Ath. Conc. Arim. et Seleuc. §. 45. p. 143. Oxf. Tr.

^m S. Hil. de Synod. prop. fin.

ⁿ Eus. vii. 30. p. 364.

^o Conc. i. 987.

^p Harduin ad loc.

which affected them. But they take no part whatever in it.

In the same year was the first Council of the authors of the Donatist heresy.

A. D. 305. a small Synod was held at Cirta in Numidia, from whose Acts it appears that Secundus and the rest who originated the Donatist schism were themselves "traditores"; i. e. they had themselves committed the very act of which they falsely accused the Catholic Bishops; they had delivered up the Holy Scriptures in the persecution of Diocletian. "Concerning your forefathers," S. Augustine^r says, "there is extant a Council of Secundus of Tigisis, held with very few at Cirta, after the persecution, as to giving up the [sacred] volumes, that then a Bishop should be appointed in the place of the departed."

In the Council, whose Acts S. Augustine has preserved, Secundus charged those present successively with being traditores, until at last one, bolder than the rest, retorted the charge; and the scene ended in a mutual amnesty. Strange as the scene is in itself, it illustrates the fact, how in the Synods of Bishops, held to elect Bishops, enquiry was made by the Bishops into the mode of life of the person Elect.

A few years afterwards A. D. 311. were the beginnings of the Donatist schism. This same Secundus, Bishop of Tigisis and Primate of Africa, vexed that he had not been called in to consecrate Cæcilian, and

^r c. Crescon. iii. 26. 27.

listening to his rivals, condemned him, absent, unheard, and guiltless, for the very offence of which he had himself been guilty, and consecrated Majorinus against him. This was done in a Council of seventy Bishops, including those who had been proved guilty at the Synod of Circa.^s

The appeal of the Donatist Bishops to Constantine, that their question should be settled by Gallican Bishops, has been already mentioned; ^t and the consequent hearing of the cause at Rome by a Synod of the Bishop of Rome, three Gallican Bishops appointed by the Emperor, and fifteen other Italian Bishops. "Cæcilian was^u acquitted by the sentence of all;" "Donatus was condemned, as having confessed that he re-baptised and laid hands on lapsed Bishops."

The Council of Arles A. D. 314. was convened by Constantine. He says in his circular letter to Chrestus Bishop of Syracuse, "we^v have enjoined very many Bishops from different places to meet at Arles before the Calends of August." He asks Chrestus to bring with him "two of the second order [Presbyters] with three servants to minister to them on the way." But all was done by the Bishops or by Presbyters, delegates of absent Bishops. The Synodical letter runs in the name of Bishops only and Presbyters who acted as legates of absent Bishops^w. "Cons-

^s S. Aug. Ep. 43. [al. 162,] 3. Opt. i. 14.

^t Royal Supremacy p. 32. sqq.

^u Opt. i. 26.

^v Ap. Eus. x. 5.

^w "Two sorts of Presbyters used to come to Councils. Some with their Bishops, others for and instead of Bishops, when the Bishops themselves were not present. The former had no right of suffrage, these last gave their judgment with the Bishops and subscribed with them." Labbe App. T. i. p. 1453. D.

tantine," says S. Augustine, "gave ^x them another judgment, that of Arles ; i. e. of other Bishops.^y" "So ^zmad are these men, that they think that two hundred judges [the number of the Bishops] before whom they were defeated, are to be less accounted of than the defeated disputants." Constantine in his letter to the Catholic Bishops, says to *them*, "I rejoice especially, that at last, having past a most just judgment, ye have brought them back to better hopes." "I say, as the truth is, that the judgment of Bishops ^a ought to be so accounted, as if the Lord Himself sat and judged." S. Augustine calls it a plenary universal Council, ^b a Council of the Universal Church. Bishops met there from Gaul, Italy, Africa, Spain, Sicily, Sardinia, Britain. The Bishops speak of "the present authority of our God ;" of their own judgment as "the judgment of God and of the Church." "So ^c then God being the Judge, and the Mother Church, who knoweth and approveth her own, they [the Donatists] were either condemned or repelled." "But," they proceed, "we did not judge right to treat of those things alone, for which we were invited. But we held it right to consult for ourselves. And whereas they are divers Provinces from which we came hither, so also are there various points, which we think we ought to observe. We decided then, in

^x Ep. 43. [al 162.] c. 7.^y Ep. 105. [al. 166.] §. 8.^z c. Ep. Parm. i. 5.^a Sacerdotum.^b plenarii totius orbis Concilii de Bapt. cont. Donat. i. 7. ii. 6. 9. totius orbis judicio c. Parm. iii. 4. and 6. totius orbis unitati Ib. ii. 13. add Hæres. 69. Ep. 43. ad Glor. et Eleus. §. 7. Ep. 185. ad Bonif. c. 1.^c Ep. Synod. Conc. i. 1449.

the Presence of the Holy Ghost and His Angels [a mutilated sentence.] We decided also that through thee especially, who hold a larger Diocese, [what we have decided] should be conveyed to all."

The summary of the Epistle runs. "To the Lord and most holy brother Sylvester, Marinus and the assembly of Bishops, united at Arles, what we have decreed by common Counsel, we have signified to your Charity, that all may know, what henceforth they ought to observe."

About the same time probably, A. D. 314, when the Church breathed again from persecution, were three Councils in the East, which framed Canons, in harmony with, and ultimately adopted by the whole Church. The Council of Ancyra was chiefly engaged in regulating the repentance of those who had lapsed in the persecution. Its Canons are subscribed by its eighteen Bishops.^d Most of these Bishops were subsequently at Nice; one having, in the interval, received the crown of martyrdom. Its President was Vitalis, Patriarch of Antioch. The Bishops were of Asia Minor, Cappadocia, Pontus, Armenia, Cilicia, Syria.

The Council of Neo-Cæsarea, also A. D. 314. enacted 14 Canons, most of them relating to Presbyters. It is subscribed^e by nineteen Bishops. Ten of them are the same who framed the Canons of Ancyra.

The Council of Laodicea also was probably held

^d Conc. i. T. 1505.

^e Ib. p. 1518.

before the Council of Nice. It framed sixty Canons, of which the last, laying down the Canonical Books of the O. and N. T., recites the Old Testament without the Apocrypha, but in the N. T. omits the Apocalypse, whose Canonicity was finally established in the East at the Council of Nice. The title of its Canons are, "Canons of the holy and blessed Fathers [Bishops] who met in Synod in Laodicea of Phrygia." The brief preface only says, "The holy Synod gathered in Laodicea of Phrygia from different Provinces of Asia, set forth Ecclesiastical rules as follows." The Council in Trullo speaks of them generally "as the holy Fathers [Bishops] assembled in Laodicea of Phrygia."

About A. D. 306. (S. Athanasius says,) "Peter^f was Bishop among us before the persecution, and during the course of it he suffered martyrdom. When Meletius, who held the title of Bishop in Egypt, was convicted of many crimes, and among the rest of offering sacrifice to idols, Peter deposed him in a general Council of the Bishops. Whereupon Meletius did not appeal to another Council, or attempt to justify himself before those who should come after, but made a schism, so that they who espoused his cause are even yet called Meletians instead of Christians. He began immediately to revile the the Bishops."

S. Alexander of Alexandria shewed long forbearance

^f Apol. ag. Ar. §. 59. p. 88. O. T.

towards Arius, whom envy^g had stirred into heresy. He tried at first to recall him from his error. When he would not desist, but laboured to infect others, spreading his heresy from house to house, Alexander was compelled to act more decidedly. “The^h heresy had spread through all Egypt, Lybia, and the Upper Thebais. Then,” S. Alexander writes, “we,ⁱ being assembled with the Bishops of Egypt and Lybia nearly one hundred in number, anathematized both them and their followers.”

On this “the^k Arians, thinking that they must be beforehand in gaining the good will of the Bishops of every City, sent deputies to them—such a doctrine having been dispersed among almost all, the same enquiry came in common before the Bishops every where,—Alexander wrote to all the Bishops every where, not to communicate with them. The Eusebians, [i. e. Eusebius of Nicomedia and his party,] having collected a Synod in Bithynia, write to the Bishops every where, to communicate with the Arians as Orthodox, and to induce Alexander so to do.”

This not succeeding, “Arius applies to Paulinus Bishop of Tyre and Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea and Patrophilus of Scythopolis”—“They, meeting in Synod with other Bishops in Palestine, agreed to Arius’ request, bidding him gather his people [in public worship] as before, but to be subject to

^g Theod. i. 2.
p. 300. O. T.

^h Socr. i. 6.

ⁱ Encycl. Letter §. 3. in S. Ath. Hist. Tr.

^k Socr. i. 15.

Alexander, and try to be admitted to peace and communion with him."

Under these circumstances, Constantine gathered the Bishops at the Council of Nice. His own object was simply, peace. He did not understand the doctrine, and attached as much or more importance to uniformity in keeping Easter, as to unity of faith. Indeed, he himself at this time believed in no doctrine, but that of Providence¹, and spares no terms of contempt as to the pettiness of the dispute between Alexander and Arius.

Yet he saw and knew thus much, that the Government of the Church resided with the Bishops, and therefore, at considerable expense, he assembled them. His letter after the Council sets forth, "I thought^m that this ought to be my aim above all things, that among the most blessed People of the Catholic Church, one faith, and sincere love, and one-minded piety towards Almighty God, might be maintained. But since this could not be stably ordered, unless all, or at least most of the Bishops coming together, all things were considered which appertain to the most holy religion ; on this ground, after I had collected as many as possible, myself also being present as one of you (for I would not deny, what is my special joy, that I am your fellow-servant) all things have been duly examined, until what was

¹ Constantine selects this as the single essential doctrine, in proof that Alexander and Arius had the same faith. Eus. de vit. Const. ii. 71.

^m 1b. iii. 17.

pleasing to the All-seeing God was brought to light unto one harmonious agreement."

"He convoked,"ⁿ says Eusebius, "an Œcumenical Council, with respectful letters inviting the Bishops to hasten from all sides." "They who not in soul only, but in body and country and place and nation, were far removed from one another, were brought together; and one City received all, as it were a great chaplet of Priests, variegated with beauteous flowers. From all the Churches, which filled all Europe, Africa and Asia, there were collected together the first fruits of the Ministers of God. And one house of prayer, as it were enlarged by God, contained within at once, Syrians and Cilicians, Phœnicians and Arabians, and those of Palestine; those moreover of Egypt, Thebais, Libya, and those who came from Mesopotamia. A Persian Bishop too was present at the Synod; nor was a Seythian [Goth] wanting to the choir. Pontus also and Galatia and Pamphylia, Cappadocia and Asia and Phrygia sent their chosen ones; the Thracians and Macedonians, Achæans and Epirots, and those who dwelt yet more exceedingly further; and from Spain itself the very celebrated [Hosius] one, sitting with many. And of the royal City [Rome] the Bishop was absent, for age; but his Presbyters being present filled his place."

Eusebius, comparing this assembly with those

ⁿ Ib. c. 6. 7.

gathered at the Day of Pentecost, says that, “to^o them it was wanting that all were not Ministers of God ; but that in the present choir, there was a multitude of Bishops, exceeding two hundred and fifty ; and of Priests and Deacons attending on them and Acolythes, innumerable.”

One “concordant faith prevailed,” Eusebius says ;^p “the same time was acknowledged by all for the Saviour’s Feast [Easter] and what they decided in common was confirmed in writing by the subscription of each.”

Constantine, in his circular letter to the Churches, speaks of the authority of the Bishops, as he had after the Council of Arles. “These^a things being so, receive ye gladly the Grace of God, and, as it truly is, the Divine command. For whatsoever is done in the holy Council of Bishops, is to be referred to the Divine Will.”

It was indeed a wonderful Assembly. “There were at that time,” Theodoret says, ^r“many, eminent for Apostolic gifts ; many too, who, according to the Divine Apostle, ‘bore about in the body the marks of the Lord Jesus.’ James of Nisibis both raised the dead to life, and did very many other miracles.

^o c. 8. S. Ath. Ep. ad Afr. init. S. Hil. de Synod. §. 86. S. Jerome Chron. and Rufinus II. E. i. l. count 318. [Val.] as do the Bishops of the third Roman Council under Damasus, exclusive of the Presbyters from Rome. A. D. 371 or 2. Conc. (ad A. D. 369.) ii. 1043. Soz. vi. 23. Theod. ii. 22. The Council of Nice is known as “the three hundred and eighteen Fathers” in subsequent Councils.

^p c. 14.

^a c. 20.

^r II. E. i. 7.

Paul Bishop of Neocæsarea had experienced the fury of Licinius, his hands powerless, the red-hot iron had destroyed the power of motion ; others had their right eyes dug out; others hamstrung in the knees, of whom was Paphnutius.^s A crowd of martyrs might be seen gathered in one." Others specify Potamon Bishop of Heraclea, who lost one eye for the testimony of Jesus Christ ; Spiridon^t Bishop of Trimithus, who wrought miracles ; Leontius^u Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, gifted with a prophetic spirit ; Amphion^v of Epiphania, Hypatius of Gangra, Confessors ; and Nicolas of Myra, even then distinguished for piety. S. Alexander of Alexandria, S. Eustathius of Antioch, S. James of Nisibis, Hosius, were in every way eminent. Macarius of Jerusalem was also a distinguished maintainer of the Nicene faith.

But the very enumeration implies that piety, suffering for the faith, the "marks of the Lord Jesus," spiritual gifts, not knowledge, were accounted their eminent qualifications. Eusebius says "some^w were eminent for the word of wisdom ; others for hardness of life and endurance ; others possessed both moderately." Socrates^x mentions, (although he repudiates,) the party-charge of Sabinus, a Macedonian Bishop and dishonest writer, that the "Fathers of Nice were simple and ignorant men." Nor is it of much moment,

^s Rufinus H. E. l. 4. says that he was renowned for Apostolic miracles.

^t Rufinus, i. 5. Socr. i. 10.

^u S. Greg. Naz. Orat. 18. in fun. patr. §. 12.

^v Soz. i. 10.

^w V. C. iii. 9.

^x i. 8. p. 21.

that a heathen philosopher, with sophistical argument and pompous words, made jest of the Bishops, but was, it is related, miraculously converted by a Layman and Confessor.^y Nor is it very remarkable, that one so gifted as S. Athanasius, was, although a Deacon only attending on his Bishop, Alexander, admitted to the chief place in the defence of the orthodox faith. Still, lay-dialecticians are mentioned on both sides; on the Arian, the Bishops, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis, and Maris. “Against these,” Socrates^z says, “Athanasius contended nobly”; and mentions it as the ground of the subsequent grudge of the Arian party against him. Sozomen says that “many^a of the Bishops who then met together and the Clerks who followed them, being powerful in disputing, and practised in these methods of discourse, distinguished themselves”; but he too specifies the one Deacon, S. Athanasius.

Yet, whether those of the Bishops, who had intellectual gifts, were more or fewer, it was not on account of those gifts, but for their office sake, that they alone had a decisive voice. It was by permission^b that the laymen spoke in the Synod; yet a simple layman, an aged Confessor, was allowed to speak. Clergy who followed the Bishops, distinguished themselves in discussions on the faith. Spiridon, on the contrary,^c “had been a shepherd, before he was, for his piety, made a shepherd of men; and even as a Bishop,

^y Socr. i. 8. Soz. i. 18.

^z Socrates i. 8. p. 19.

^a c. 17. fin.

^b Ib. c. 18.

^c Socr. i. 12.

in his great humility, he fed his sheep still." Yet Laymen or Deacons or Priests, though possessed of the same (or even, as S. Athanasius, greater) theological knowledge or acuteness, or, however eminent for holiness of life and sufferings for Christ, for which Bishops also were eminent, had no voice in the decision. The Bishops alone decided, as having alone the commission from our Lord. They came not as disputants, but to bear witness to the faith which they had received. The simpler are often the more faithful. "When ^d the discussion embraced different questions, some advised not to innovate, contrary to the faith delivered from the beginning, and especially those whose simplicity of mind led them, without curious discussion, to admit the faith in God. Others protested, that the more ancient opinions ought not to be followed without examination." All the Bishops, learned or unlearned, except the few who had been seduced by Arius, knew the faith of Christ. When the Arians proposed their heretical creed, "all ^e straightway rent it, calling it spurious and adulterated." "And when *all* accused them of betraying the faith, the Arians rose up in fear, and, except Secundus and Theonas, excommunicated Arius." "The Arians ^f concealing their disease, (for they feared the multitude of the Bishops) assented to what had been set forth."

S. Athanasius describes in few sentences, the prin-

^d Soz. i. 17.

^e Theod. i. 7.

^f Ib. c. 8. fin.

ciples and the objects of the Council. “As ^g to the Nicene Council, it was not a common meeting, but convened upon a pressing necessity, and for a reasonable object. The Syrians, Cilicians, and Mesopotamians, were out of order in celebrating the Feast, and kept Easter with the Jews; on the other hand, the Arian heresy had risen up against the Catholic Church, and found supporters in the Eusebians, who were both zealous for the heresy, and conducted the attack upon religious people. This gave occasion for an Œcumenical Council, that the Feast might be every-where celebrated on one day, and that the heresy which was springing up might be anathematized. It took place then; and the Syrians submitted, and the Fathers pronounced the Arian heresy to be the forerunner of Antichrist, and drew up a suitable formula against it. And yet in this, many as they were, they ventured on nothing like the proceedings of these three or four men.^h Without prefixing Consulate, month, and day, they wrote concerning the Easter, ‘It seemed good as follows.’ For it did then seem good that there should be a general compliance. But about the faith they wrote not, ‘It seemed good,’ but, ‘Thus believes the Catholic Church;’ and thereupon they confessed how the faith lay, in order to shew that their own sentiments were not novel, but Apostolical; and what they wrote down, was no discovery of theirs, but is the same as was taught by the Apostles.”

^g Conc. Arim. §. 5. p. 79. ^h Ursacius, Valens, Germinius &c. Arian Bishops.

The faith they *attested*; on matters of discipline they determined, as “seemed” to them “good.”

It is difficult to embody in words the influence of this Council on the subsequent history of the Church. The subsequent General Councils are grounded upon it. After the struggles of fifty-six years, against the Eunomians or Anomœans, Arians or Eudoxians, Semi-Arians or Macedonians, the impugnors of the Holy Ghost, Sabellians, Marcellians, Photinians, and Apollinarians, the second General Council, at Constantinople, in its first Canon, knits itself on to that at Nicæa. “Let not the faith of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers who met at Nicæa in Bithynia be abrogated, but let that remain firm, and let every heresy be anathematised.” After which the Council specially anathematises those above-named. The Fathers of the Council of Ephesus, in the like way, affirm “the faith of the three hundred and eighteen (of Nice) and the one hundred and fifty” (of Constantinople.)

“Itⁱ would be long to recount how purely and religiously all the Fathers revered the Nicene Council, as an oracle given from Heaven. To this, as an inviolable law, Athanasius^j ever appeals, whether his contest be with Arius, Asterius or Eusebius. With this, Hilary^k upbraids Constantius, the deserter of his father’s faith, and contends that it is the

ⁱ Hist. Conc. prefixed to Council of Nice Conc. ii. 6.

^j Nic. Def. §. 27. p. 49. Oxf. Tr. and references note o. Council Arim. and Seleuc. §. 9. p. 84. and note c. §. 14. p. 93. §. 20. p. 103. Orat. 1. c. Arian. §. 7. p. 188.

^k adv. Constant. c. 23. and Fragn. 8.

test and rule of all other Synods. Epiphanius¹ extols it as the anchor of the tossed Church. To this, as to a fortress of the Faith, Ambrose^m leads Gratian who, on the eve of war, had asked him concerning the faith. Why recount individuals? An Œcumenical Synod, whatever they would do or discuss, professed at the outset that they willed to tread in the footsteps of the Nicene Faith. They are like great stones built upon the foundation of Nice.—The kings of the Goths in Italy and Spain, of the Vandals in Africa, Constantius and Valens, Roman Emperors, throughout the whole world, arrayed against the Canons of Nice, prætors, soldiers, armies, Provincial Synods, the large Councils of Bishops at Rimini and Seleucia. Yet all these were not so much hostile engines to destroy it, as trophies of victory for endless glory, God thereby attesting that the faith of Nice, which such might of floods, winds and storms could not shake, was founded and settled on the firmest rock. “Pleas for Councils,” saidⁿ the Bishops at Ariminum, “will not longer circulate about. The Bishops of Nicea having anticipated them once for all, and done all that was needful for the Catholic Church.”

“Those holy and venerable Fathers, says S. Leo,^o who, at Nice, having condemned Arius with his sacrilegious impiety, enacted laws of Ecclesiastical

¹ adv. Hær 69. §. 11. Ancorat. §. 119-121.

^m de fide ad Gratian. i. 18.

ⁿ in S. Ath. Connec. Arim and Seleuc. §. 9. p. 84. O. T.

^o Ep. 106. ad Anatol. Episc. Constant. c. 4. add c. 3. and Ep. 135. fin. Ep. 14. ad Anast. c. 2. Ep. 105. ad Pulch. c. 2. Ep. 107. ad Julian. Ep. 119. ad Max. c. 4.

Canons to abide to the end of the world, live in their constitutions among us and throughout the world ; and any thing, which is any where ventured, other than they enacted, is without delay annulled, so that what was instituted generally for abiding benefit, may undergo no variation or change."

The Acts of this Great Council were fourfold ; 1. They decided for ever the matter of faith ; 2. they regulated for ever the keeping of Easter ; 3. they fixed the terms on which the Meletian schismatics in Egypt should be re-admitted into the Church ; 4. they enacted Canons. The Bishops then, so assembled, themselves alone, explained and established the faith, regulated ritual and discipline, and enacted laws for the whole Church. Their Synodical letter is inscribed, "The ^p Bishops who have been gathered together at Nice, and have held the great and holy Council, to the (by the grace of God) holy and great Church of Alexandria." They state how they had been assembled, had enquired into and condemned the ungodliness of Arius together with Theonas and Secundus ; and then their forbearance to Meletius. To him they left his title, although without power to exercise his functions. The Priests whom he had ordained, they admitted, "after they should have been confirmed by a holier ordination," to the second place after those previously ordained by Alexander, to be selected to succeed them, "if they should seem worthy and the People should choose them, Alexander, the

Bishop of Catholic Alexandria, consenting and confirming it.”

The Council leaves to the Laity the choice of those who should be their Pastors, with the approbation of the Bishops ; every other detail is ordered for them.

Of the twenty Canons of the Council of Nice some confirm or enlarge former Canons, some were wholly framed by the Council. They embrace the largest subjects, as the distribution of Patriarchates, or the appointments of the Bishops of the whole Church, or minute points of ritual or discipline. They forbid kneeling on the Lord's Day or in the Pentecostal season ; regulate the restoration of those who had lapsed in the persecution of Licinius, or of the Novatian and Paulianist heretics, or of those who, with peril of idolatry, returned to the military life. They relate mostly to the discipline of the Clergy, or those who should be admitted to Holy Orders ; but some exclusively relate to the Laity. All were every where received ; and Provincial Councils held themselves bound to do nothing against any Canon of the Council of Nice. The whole Church obeyed whatever it bade or forbade.

But, beyond all questions of detail which were thus ruled for the Universal Church, the half yearly Synod of Bishops were then, by virtue of an authority acknowledged every where as supreme, appointed for the whole Church. The especial object of their meeting was the protection of all under the Bishops, Laity

or Clergy, against any private wrong feeling of an individual Bishop. But the protection lay in an appeal to the Bishops of the Province collectively.

The Canon, as has been already said, confirmed the Ante-Nicene Canon, which it enlarged. "Concerning those who, whether in the rank of the Clergy or of Laity, have been excommunicated by the Bishops in each Eparchy, let the judgment hold according to the Canon which forbids that those rejected by some should be admitted by others. But let enquiry be made, that they have not been excommunicated through pettiness of mind or contentiousness or any like displeasure of the Bishop. In order then, that the matter may be sifted, as is meet, it seemed well that in each Eparchy Synods should be held twice in the year, that all the Bishops of each Eparchy being brought together in one place, such questions should be examined, and so those who confessedly offended against the Bishop, should deservedly be held excommunicated by all, until it seem good to the Bishops collectively to pass some milder judgment upon them. But let the Synods be holden, the one before Lent, that, all petty grudge being removed, the Gift may be offered more purely to God; the second about Autumn."

The Canon of Nice, framed by Bishops, representing all the Bishops from the whole Church under Heaven, and received by all, gave fresh impulse to the habitual assembling of Synods of Bishops as the Courts of appeal for all grievances of conscience. It

took up the law which before existed, on the local authority of particular Churches. It embodied the words of that law, while it enlarged or explained it. It itself re-enacted and fixed that rule, and stamped it by the formal authority of the whole Church, that Synods of Bishops were *the* tribunal of appeal from any arbitrariness of an individual Bishop.

CHAPTER V.

Councils between the first General Council at Nice A. D. 325. and the second General Council at Constantinople. A. D. 381.

The next period of the Church, the history of which is given by Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, is one of the most eventful and most fruitful in Synods. These fifty-six years comprise and conclude the struggles of Arianism, in its different forms, to overthrow the decision and authority of the Council of Nice. The various parties, who modified or developed the original heresy of Arius, tried every way of fraud or violence, to supersede, or undermine, or suppress the Faith in God the Son, to which the whole Church had borne witness at Nice, as the One "Faith, once delivered to the Saints." They assailed sometimes the Faith, sometimes its great supporters, until the Faith gained a yet more decided victory in the second General Council at Constantinople.

In this troubled and stormy time, we have not only the struggles of the Church with heretics, and heretical Bishops with the Church, but we have the heretical party itself, dissatisfied with its own proceedings, and

essaying again and again to amend them, or swaying backwards and forwards, at one time a party being in the ascendant which verged on orthodoxy, at another, the extremest heterodoxy ; and this heterodoxy itself, putting itself forth or veiling itself, contradicting itself or even anathematizing itself, as the state of things permitted or required of a body, which had no principle except expediency. The Councils of this period were, for the most part, eminently unsatisfactory, because they were, for the most part, attempts by God's mercy fruitless, to undo the work of God the Holy Ghost in the Church. They were waves dashing against the rock of the true Faith, which foamed out their own shame.

It is of *these* synods that S. Hilary speaks in terms so often misapplied to Councils generally. "We^a determine yearly and monthly creeds concerning God ; we repent of our determinations ; we defend those who repent ; we anathematize those whom we have defended ; we condemn our own doings in those of others, or others in us ; and gnawing each other, we are well nigh devoured one of another." They were Councils, not *of* the Church, but against the Church. They could not but fail ; because they were arrayed against that Faith, against which our Lord has promised, that the gates of Hell shall not prevail. The truth of the God of truth was pledged against them. S. Athanasius gives the same picture of Arian changeableness.

^a S. Hil. ad Const. ii. 5.

“^b Every year, as if they were going to draw up a contract, they meet together and pretend to write about the faith, whereby they expose themselves the more to ridicule and disgrace, because their expositions are rejected, not by others, but by themselves.” “^c They dissent from each other, and, whereas they have revolted from their Fathers, are not of one and the same mind, but float about with various and discordant changes. And, as quarrelling with the Council of Nicæa, they have held many councils themselves, and have published a faith in each of them, and have stood to none ; nay, they will never do otherwise ; for perversely seeking, they will never find that wisdom which they hate.” “^d So it is, they have convened successive Councils against that Œcumenical one, and are not yet tired.” “^e I have accordingly subjoined portions both of Arius’ writings, and of whatever else I could collect, of their publications in different Councils ; whereby you will learn to your surprise with what object they stand out against an Œcumenical Council and their own Fathers without blushing.”

Yet, although so wrong in their principles and their end, the Synods of this period do but the more illustrate the constitution of Synods, in that so many of them were convened by heretics, and under the pressure of the secular power. Constantine was indifferent to truth, and anxious only to secure peace ; Constantius and Valens were powerful and unscrupulous per-

^b Letter to Eg. Lib. §. 6. Hist. Tr. p. 131. O. T.

^c Coun. Arim. & Seleue. §. 14. p. 92, 3. O. T.

^d Ib. §. 21. p. 103.

^e Ib. § 14. p. 93.

secutors. Yet both heretical Bishops and heretical Emperors felt that they could only wound the Church through the arms of the Church. Bishops were the acknowledged Guardians, Shepherds of the Church ; and Synods their collective voice. The heretical Bishops strove to reinforce their numbers by illegal ordinations, and to set up Councils of Bishops, and the Creeds of those Councils, over against the Council and Creed of the Church ; or to depress one another by Councils, to cast out or depose one another by Councils. But the Emperors, also, knew of no other method whereby to substitute an heretical Creed than by corrupting Bishops, packing or dividing Councils of Bishops, banishing the orthodox Bishops, when they could not terrify them, and, through Councils of their own Bishops, replacing expelled Bishops by other Bishops as heretical as themselves. They even introduced a military force to over-awe a Council ; yet in this time of disorder, the outward forms of the Church were observed. The Emperors knew of no other way in which they could act upon the Church, than through the Bishops. Even in tyrannising over the Church, they were obliged to submit to the forms of the Church. Every act of doctrine or discipline is ascribed to the Bishops. Whether in the Councils of the Church or of heretics, Arians, in their different shades, Macedonians, Novatians, or any other, or for whatever end they were gathered, the Synods were of Bishops. What was done in them was done by Bishops, and what these did, they did with complete authority, looking for no further

confirmation, except that of the Bishops of the whole Church.

The period between the two first general Councils, is one of fifty-six years. In it there are notices of some eighty Councils. It may help to give a more vivid impression of the Synodical system of the Church, to survey in order this spasmodic and convulsive action of that system, when withdrawn from the calm and regulating power of the faith, and misdirected by heretics.

The general object of the early Arian Councils was to attain what was unattainable, to devise a Confession of faith, which, treating on the Divinity of God the Son, might fall short of the explicit belief of the Nicene Creed, and yet not altogether and overtly reject the truth. The Bishops who composed these Creeds, even anathematized more naked heresy. Yet since, plainly, what is not God is a creature of God, and so there is no middle point between the entire Oneness of the Nature of God the Son with the Father, and His being a mere creature, (whether any supposed Him to have been created before, or in, time) all the ambiguous phrases to which the Arians or Semi-Arians resorted must be understood altogether in the one sense, or in the other. Some of the Semi-Arians did not probably for a time see this, or received the doubtful formulæ in a higher sense, than these necessarily bore, or than, if understood as in any way differing from the Nicene, they *could* bear. "Like as to all things" might include "substance" also;

but if “likeness in substance” meant any thing different from “oneness of substance,” it also implied “unlikeness” or “imperfect likeness”; and so the “Homœans,” or any who maintained the mere “likeness” of the Son to the Father, and “Anomœans” who openly declared that they held His “unlikeness” to the Father, really held the same heresy. Gibbon sneers “at the difference of a single diphthong between the Homœousians and the Homoiousians,” and represents the distinction between the Semi-Arians and the Catholics as being as fine. Undoubtedly, the words used by the Semi-Arians, if taken in their true, or, as S. Hilary says, in their “faithful^f and religious sense,” would coincide with the faith of Holy Scripture and the Church. “Likeness” is not true, unless it is complete. “Likeness” then, if real, is “likeness in all things”; real “likeness in all things” includes “likeness in substance”; real “likeness in substance” cannot be without identity of substance. But it is also true that the Semi-Arian terms expressed the Faith inadequately and were capable, (as S. Hilary subjoined,) of “an^g irreligious sense.” For “like” might more naturally mean “like in qualities” only, (as it is said of us, that “we shall be like Him.” “Of like substance,” might im-

^f de Synod. §. 77. p. 1193.

^g “I did not speak of ‘a religious sense’ of ‘like substance’ save that I understood that there was an irreligious,—so that I did not disapprove the word ‘likeness’ and yet warned that its only religious meaning, was that which inculcated Oneness of Substance.” *Id. Ib. not. a.*

ply, that the Father and the Son were two “like,” but independant and distinct, “Substances.” And this ambiguity could be the only object of maintaining terms, distinct from the ancient word, “of one Substance,” embodied in the Creed of Nicæa. “Homoiousios” differed then but by one letter from “Homooousios,” as “creature” differs, but by one letter from “Creatour”; but the belief represented by them differed by infinity, that same infinity which lies between the creature and his Creator. For Homooousios expressed that the Son was God, Co-eternal, Consubstantial, Coequal, Infinite; Homoiousios, unless understood in the same sense as Homooousios, implied that the Son was a mere creature. This, in the course of these Councils, became clear to the more religious Semi-Arians, and they won back their way to the Faith and language of the Church; the less religious worked *their* way out into undisguised Arianism.

The chief Patrons and protectors of Arius were Bishops of Palestine and Syria and Asia Minor, Eusebius of Nicomedia (the political chief of the party) Eusebius of Cæsarea, Theodotus of Laodicea, Paulinus of Tyre, Athanasius of Nazarbi, Gregory of Berytus, Aetius of Lydda. These Arius himself claimed.^h Besides these, Menophantus of Ephesus, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Theognius of Nice, Narcissus of Neronias, and two Egyptian Bishops,

^h Epist. ad Euseb. in Theod. i. 5. confirmed by Theodoret Ib.

Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais, took the part of Arius, but finally anathematized him, except Secundus and Theonas.ⁱ Maris of Chalcedon, and George, presbyter of Alexandria, afterwards Bishop of Laodicea, had been overt Arians before the Council of Nice.^k

This was the original Arian party, called Eusebians from its leaders, the two Eusebii. They subsequently added to their number Bishops whom they consecrated, Placillus, Stephen, Leontius, successively Bishops of Antioch, Theodosius of Tripoli, Eudoxius successively of Germanicia, Antioch, and Constantinople, and Eustathius of Sebastia one of the leaders of the Semi-Arians.^l For these they made room by the expulsion of the orthodox Bishops. In like way, they expelled the Bishops of Balanea, Palтус, Taradus, Gaza, Berœa, Asia, Sirmium, and filled the sees with their own partizans.^m Secundus, deposed by the Council of Nice, was chief in these ordinations.ⁿ Ursacius of Singidon in Upper Mæsia, and Valens of Mursa, Demophilus of Berœa, Germinius of Cyzicus and Sirmium (A. D. 351.) Cœcropsius of Laodicea and Nicomedia, Auxentius of Milan, Epictetus of Civita Vecchia, were intruded in the same way.^o Acacius, (from whom the Eusebian party were sometimes called Acacians) succeeded

ⁱ Theod. i. 7.

^k S. Ath. Conc. Arim. et Seleuc. §. 17. p. 99. O. T.

^l S. Ath. Arian Hist. §. 4. p. 222, 3. O. T.

^m Id. Ib. §. 5. p. 223.

ⁿ Conc. Arim. et Sel. §. 12. p. 88, 9. add S. Julius in Apol. ag. Arian. §. 24.

^o S. Ath. Letter to Eg. Lib. §. 7. p. 133. Arian Hist. §. 75. p. 286.

Eusebius of Cæsarea, his instructor in heresy. A. D. 338.

The chiefs of the better Semi-Arians, were Basil of Ancyra, (placed by the Eusebians in the see of Marcellus) Eustathius, and Eleusius of Cyzicus (so remarkably praised by S. Hilary;^a) then Mark of Arethusa. Eusebius of Emesa died an Arian; Eusebius of Samosata and S. Cyril of Jerusalem, for a time mixed up with them, died Saints. George of Laodicea, and Eudoxius, were probably always in heart Arians; they became avowed Anomœans.

The wretched Aetius, who became a Deacon only, was the founder of the Anomœans; Eunomius was their chief defender.

This enumeration may furnish a thread in the following account of the Synods of this period, which is given chiefly in the words of the original historians. It illustrates also how many of the chief Arians were intruded into sees, and were not merely Bishops who became heretical. Some of them had been refused ordination by Eustathius, the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, and were now ordained without enquiry into their lives.^a “^r Profligate heathen youths, not even Catechumens,” were at once made Bishops, and thrust into the place of vene-

^p “Except Eleusius the Bishop and a few with him, the ten provinces of Asia, where I am, for the most part know not God truly.” *de Synod.* c. 27. p. 1186.

^a S. Ath. Arian Hist. §. 3. 4. p. 221, 2.

^r *Ib.* §. 73. p. 285.

rable and aged Bishops, exiled for the faith. They were ordained on account of their impiety.^s

The first step of the original Arian Bishops was to regain with the Emperor the influence which they had lost through the Council of Nice. The rest was to oppress S. Athanasius. Then followed the attempt to substitute heretical creeds for that of Nicæa, in which they were checked at first apparently by fear, then by the presence of a party among them, nearer to the truth, so that although the chief Eusebian Bishops were Arians, their Creeds were negative or Semi-Arian until A. D. 357, when the second Sirmian Creed was put forth by the Arian party, which was followed by the Semi-Arian Creed at Ancyra, put out by Basil. Thenceforth, the Semi-Arians and the Arians were in conflict with one another.

On the other hand, about A. D. 360, when Macedonius was deposed from the see of Constantinople, a part of the Semi-Arians following him formed overtly a new heresy, denying the Divinity of God the Holy Ghost. This however was, at all times, of necessity, involved in Arianism.

In the Synod of Nice, Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognius, although unwillingly, accepted the Creed, and were received into Communion.^t After the Council, they took the part of the Arians, and joined themselves with them.^u Eusebius se-

^s S. Ath. Lett. to Eg. Lib. §. 7. p. 133.

^t S. Jer. adv. Lucif. §. 20. p.

192, ed. Vall.

^u Ep. Const. ad Nicom. ap. Theod. i. 20.

cretly urged Constantine to intercede for him, but, as he and Theognius themselves say, they were condemned by the chief Bishops,^w to whom they sent a petition of penitence praying for their restoration.

Five months^x after the Council of Nice, April 16. A. D. 326. in a Synod of Bishops, Athanasius was ordained Patriarch of Alexandria. This office was always so conferred,^y and so was the occasion of many Synods, in the different Patriarchates.

Three years afterwards, A. D. 328. in a Synod of two hundred and fifty Bishops at Nicomedia according to Philostorgius,^z Eustathius Patriarch of Antioch was, through the influence of Eusebius^a and Theognius, deposed on a charge of immorality, supported by perjury, as the wretched person afterwards confessed.^b Socrates remarks, “The Bishops^c are wont to do thus, as to all whom they depose, accusing them of impiety, but not adding the causes of the impiety.” He was deposed for his maintenance of the faith.

The persecution of S. Athanasius began about A. D. 328. About A. D. 331. the Emperor “wearied^d by his enemies, Eusebius and Theognius, commanded him to go to a Synod at Cæsarea, whither, for thirty months, he refused to go, fearing the treachery of the two Eusebius’. A Council then was

^w ap. Socr. i. 14.

^z ii. 7.

^c i. 24.

^x S. Epiph. Hær. 68. § 6.

^a Theod. i. 21.

^d Soz. ii. 25.

^y Vales. Obs. in Socr. iii. 14.

^b c. 22.

summoned at Tyre.” “The Emperor^e proclaimed that there should be a Synod of Bishops at the consecration of the House of Prayer, which he was building in Jerusalem. But first, he commanded the Bishops being assembled at Tyre, to ventilate the case of Athanasius, that the contention being there removed, they might perform more peacefully the dedication of the Church, consecrating it to God. This was the thirtieth year of the Emperor Constantine, and there were present at Tyre, sixty Bishops from different places, Dionysius, the Consular, convening them.” “Constrained^f more vehemently, Athanasius came to Tyre.” Eusebius blends this Council with that of Jerusalem, and boasts of it as the greatest after that of Nice.^g It appears from Constantius’ Epistle to the Synod that it was packed. “I have done all,” he writes to them,^h “which ye in your letter marked out. I have sent to those Bishops whom ye wished, that they should come and share your anxieties. But I sent Dionysius, an ex-Consular, who shall both remind those Bishops who ought to come to the Synod with you, and shall be an inspector of what is done, especially as to good order. For if any, (as I trow not) now too essaying to set at nought our command, shall not choose to be present, one shall be sent hence from us, who by Imperial authority casting him out, shall teach that orders of the Emperor, given

^e Socr. i. 28.^g Vit. Const. iv. 47.^f Soz. l. c.^h ap. Theod. i. 29.

in behalf of the truth, must not be resisted. For the rest, it will be the work of your holinesses, with unanimous and impartial judgment, following the Ecclesiastical and Apostolic Canon, to devise the fitting remedy for what has been, either through wrong or error, done amiss, that ye may both free the Church from all reproach, and lighten my cares, and giving back the grace of peace to those now at variance, may gain for yourselves an exceeding good report."

S. Athanasius repeatedly¹ excepts against the Presidency of secular persons, as destructive of the very name of Council. "How can they have the boldness to call *that* a Council, at which a single Count presided &c." "As soon as the Eusebians heard that the trial was to be an Ecclesiastical one, at which no Count would be present." Liberius does the same. The Council of Chalcedon, and the eighth Council state the same as to Ecclesiastical trials. But the offices of the Count and of the Bishops are clearly separated by Constantine. The Count had to regulate outward things, to preserve, if he could, fairness in the outward proceedings, to aid in gathering the Bishops together, and afterwards in looking out for witnesses of the calumnies against S. Athanasius. The authority to remedy the evils, the debating, the decision, Constantine ascribed wholly to the Bishops. Irregular as the presence of the Count

¹ See Ancient Precedents p. 28-30.

was, it was, in truth, much needed. For “^kthose entrusted with the care of good order hindered the murder [of S. Athanasius] snatching him from them and putting him on board a vessel.”

S. Athanasius, as is well known, having signally defeated two shocking calumnies of murder and corruptio virginis, left the Synod, and was on that account condemned.¹ Arians were sent to the Marcotis to get up a charge against him, contrary to the protest of forty-seven Egyptian Bishops^m and the remonstrances of the Count,ⁿ and S. Athanasius was deposed by a Council which had no authority over him.

“Forthwith^o came letters from the Emperor, directing the Synod to come to the new Jerusalem.” There they received Arius and his companions, alleging that they complied with the Emperors’ letters, declaring that he was satisfied as to the faith of Arius and Euzoius.”

On S. Athanasius’ personal appeal to the Emperor as to the injustice done him, Constantine summoned the Council to Constantinople;^p but they sent deputies, abandoning their old calumnies for a new one.

The Arians next attacked Marcellus Bishop of Ancyra. Whether he himself was at this time heretical or no,^q it was for the part which he took against

^k Theod. i. 30.

¹ Socr. i. 32.

^m ap. S. Ath. Apol. ag. Ar. §. 77. p. 108. O. T.

ⁿ Ib. §. 81. p. 114.

^o Socr. i. 33. add Conc. Arim. §. 21.

^p Socr. i. 34.

^q Pope Julius and the Roman Council held him innocent. (Ep. in Apol. ag. Ar. §. 32.) S. Athanasius first held him guiltless, then rejected him. At last it is to be hoped that he recanted. see ib. p. 52. n. 1. and on Coune. Arim. and Seleuc. p. 110. n. v. and Introd. to Orat. iv. against Arians §. 2. p. 503. sqq.

Arianism at the Synods of Tyre and Jerusalem, that he was deposed by "the Bishops, collected at Constantinople^r." The same Council appointed his successor, and directed his books to be sought for and destroyed.

A. D. 340. was another Arian Council of Constantinople. "Constantius was^s inflamed with great wrath at the election [of Paulus, the orthodox Patriarch] and having gathered a council of Arian Bishops, set aside Paulus, and, translating Eusebius, made him Bishop of Constantinople."

A. D. 341. S. Athanasius being restored by Constantine the son,^t a fresh persecution was commenced by the Eusebians; whereupon nearly^u "one hundred Bishops," the whole body of Bishops, "assembled at Alexandria, out of Egypt, the Thebais, Libya, and Pentapolis," wrote a circular letter in his defence to "the Bishops of the Catholic Church every where." In the first persecution, they say, "circumstances did not permit it, as you also know." S. Athanasius heads the letter; "The^v following are the letters, written in my favour by the Bishops in the several Councils, and first, the letter of the Egyptian Bishops."

A. D. 341. "Eusebius^w contrives that a Council should be gathered at Antioch on pretence of the dedication of a Church, but, in truth, to overthrow the

^r Soz., ii. 33.

^s Soer., ii. 7.

^t Ep. in S. Ath. Apol. ag. Ar. §. 87. p. 121. O. T.

^u Ib. init. p. 14.

^v Ib. §. 2. fin. p. 17.

^w Soer., ii. 8. Eusebius of Cæsarea was now dead.

faith of the Homooousion. In this Synod ninety ^x [or ninety seven^y] Bishops met from different Cities." In this Synod the twenty five Canons were framed, rejected by Innocent 1 as "composed^z by heretics, but received by the Council of Chalcedon ^a as "the righteous rules of the Fathers," and placed in the Codex of the Canons of the Universal Church^b. But the Council had an Arian side also. "When^c all the Bishops had met, and the Emperor Constantius was also present, the more part [of the Bishops] were indignant, and vehemently accused Athanasius of breaking a sacerdotal [i. e. Episcopal] law which themselves had framed, and resuming his see, before he was permitted by the Synod." They set Gregory the Arian in his place. "They published also two Creeds,^d which they set over against the Nicene; the first very negative, the second fuller, avoiding^e the use of the word "Consubstantial" of the Son, and containing the Arian statement that the Holy Trinity are "three in subsistence, and in agreement one;" yet using other expressions whose obvious sense is orthodox. This is the Creed known, as "the Creed of the Dedication." The Synodical letter ^f is directed to their like-minded and holy fellow-Bishops ^g in

^x so also S. Athanas. Counc. Sel. et Arim. §. 25. p. 109.

^y Soz. iii. 5. and S. Hil. de Synod. §. 28.

^z Ep. 7. ad Constantinop. A. D. 405.

^a Act. 4. ^b Zachary [Ep. 7. ad Pepin] calls them "sanctions of the blessed Fathers." Nicholas [i. Ep. 9. ad Michael. Imp.] "the Venerable and Sacred Antiochene Canons." Harduin.

^c Soz. iii. 5.

^d Socr. ii. 18. S. Ath. Conc. Arim. §. 22. 23. p. 105-7. O. T.

^e Soz. l. c.

^f Conc. T. ii. p. 583, 6. ed. Col.

^g συλλειτουργοῖς

the Provinces, and says, "What was decided, amid much consideration, by the united judgment of all of us the Bishops, collected together out of different provinces at Antioch, we have brought to your knowledge, trusting to the grace of Christ and the Holy Spirit of peace that ye also will conspire with us, as virtually present and helping with prayers, or rather united with us, and with us present in the Holy Spirit, consulting and defining the same as we, and sealing what has been decided aright." The subscriptions extant preserve the names of twenty-nine Bishops, subjoining "and the rest out of the Provinces of Palestine, Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Cilicia, Isauria; and they enacted as follows" &c. [the twenty-five Canons.]

The Council presupposes that the consent of Bishops alone fully establishes its decrees. The Bishops usher in their first Creed with the disclaimer, "We^h have not been followers of Arius. How could we, being Bishops, follow a Presbyter?" The Bishops "subscribed," at the same Council, a more negative Creed by Theophronius, Bishop of Tyana, "accepting the faith of this manⁱ."

A few months afterwards, the^k Eusebian Bishops composed a fourth Creed; and sent four Bishops from "the Council" to the Emperor Constans in Gaul. This Creed also was negative, omitting much of the doctrine of the Creed of Dedication.

^h S. Ath. l. c. §. 21. p. 103.

ⁱ S. Ath. l. c. §. 24.

^k S. Ath. l. c. §. 25. Socr. ii. 18.

“After ¹ three years [A. D. 345.^m] the Eastern Bishops again form a Council, and having framed another faith, sent it to them in Italy.” This which, from its length, was called the Macrostich, contained higher teaching than any before it, yet still embodies distinctly Arian heresy, affirming the inferiority of the Son to the Father, and asserting that the Son was made, although not like other creatures which were created by Him.

“The Eusebians also wrote to Julius, and thinking to frighten me,” says S. Athanasius,ⁿ “requested him to call a Council, and to be himself the judge, if he so pleased.” Julius called the Council, as he was asked ; but S. Athanasius appearing, the Eusebian legates disappeared ; the Eusebians declined to be present, and S. Athanasius was acquitted, on examination of the case, by a Roman Synod of more than fifty Bishops^o. Julius wrote to the East, in the name and with the concurrence of the Synod.

Three or four of the Eusebian Bishops were sent with the Macrostich, or Creed of A. D. 345. to Milan, where Constans was. “The ^p Bishops of the West would not receive it, not understanding the language, and content with the faith of Nice.” The Eusebians “refusing ^q to condemn the heretical doctrine of Arius, departed in anger from the Council.”

¹ Socr. ii. 19. Soz. iii. 11. S. Ath. l. c. §. 26.

^m Pagi A. D. 344.

ⁿ Apol. ag. Ar. §. 20. p. 39.

^o Ib. init. p. 14. §. 20. p. 39. Arian Hist. §. 15. p. 230.

^p Soz. iii. 11. Socr. ii. 20. ^q Liberius Ep. 2. ad Constant. Conc. T. ii. p. 801.

About the same time fourteen Bishops in a Council at Cologne^r, with the concurrence of ten more, deposed one Euphrates, a Bishop who denied our Lord to be God.

“The Eusebians^s proceeded without shame, disturbing the Churches, and plotting the ruin of many. The most religious Emperors Constantine and Constans being informed of this, commanded the Bishops from both the West and East to meet together in the City of Sárdica.”

“Paulus^t [the expelled Patriarch of Constantinople] and Athanasius exhort that there should be another Council, so that what concerned themselves and the faith should be ended in a General Council, shewing that the object of their deposition had been to destroy the faith. A General Council is then again summoned to Sardica, by the will of the two Emperors; the one [Constans] asking this by letter; the Emperor of the East [Constantius] readily consenting. From the West, there assembled about three hundred Bishops, as Athanasius says. From the East, Sabinus says that there were only ninety-six Bishops, among whom was reckoned Ischyrras, the Bishop of the Mareotis, whom they who deposed Athanasius, appointed to the Episcopate of that country. Some pleaded bodily weakness; others censured the shortness of notice, casting the blame on Julius, the Bishop of the Romans, although 18

^r Conc. T. ii. p. 643.

^s S. Ath. Arian Hist. §. 36. p. 59.

^t Socr. ii. 20. Soz. iii. 11.

months had intervened, since the Synod had been called, and Athanasius had stayed at Rome, awaiting the Synod. When then they were met at Sardica, the Easterns would not come into the presence of the Westerns, saying that they would not come to conference, unless these expelled Athanasius and Paul from the assembly. When Protogenes Bishop of Sardica, and Hosius of Corduba, would not allow this, the Orientals forthwith departed." S. Athanasius mentions another reason for the departure of the Eusebians. They had hoped, as was their wont, to overawe the Council by the presence of military. "But^u when they saw that the cause was to be conducted as simply an ecclesiastical one, without the presence of the Count or of soldiers; when they saw the accusers who came from every church and city, and the evidence brought against them," and "the venerable [Arabian] Bishops Arius and Asterius, who came up in their company, withdrawing from them and siding with us, and giving an account of their profligate conduct, they feared the consequences of a trial, lest they should be convicted by us as false accusers, and it should be discovered by those whom they produced in the character of accusers, that they had themselves suggested all they were to say and were the contrivers of the plot."

"The^v Council of Bishops called upon the Eusebians

^u Arian Hist. §. 15. p. 230, 1. O. T.

^v Apol. ag. Ar. §. 36. p. 59, 60.

to come forward, saying, You have come for the purpose of undergoing a trial. Athanasius and his friends are here, whom you accused while absent. If you pretend to be unwilling, being unable, the Council will give sentence against you, as calumniators." The Eusebians, knowing that they could neither maintain their own charges, nor disprove those alleged against them, fell under the sentence of calumniators and contumacious. S. Athanasius sums up; "They received us, as injured; they deposed Eusebius' associates in wickedness; they wrote to the Bishops in all parts of the world, and to the diocese of each of the injured persons."

To the Presbyters of Alexandria,^w and to the Bishops of Egypt and Lybia^x the Council sent a separate letter, in answer to letters which it had received from them. To them the Council set forth the grounds of its acquittal of S. Athanasius; to the Alexandrian Presbyters it mentions, at the desire of S. Athanasius, its acquittal of four Alexandrian Presbyters; to the Bishops it refers more expressly to its condemnation of eight Bishops, "leaders of Arian heresy." To both it says of the Eusebians, "They were unwilling to meet the Council of all the holy Bishops." Of S. Athanasius, "all the Bishops from all parts determined upon holding communion with Athanasius." Of Gregory, illegally thrust into his place, "Gregory, illegally ordained by

^w l. c.^x ib. §. 40. p. 65.

heretics, has been degraded by the judgement of the whole sacred Council." It mentions to both, an application to the Emperors, in consequence of the oppression exercised by the Arians, by aid of the civil power. "We have written to beseech our most religious and Godly Emperors, that their Graces—would command that none of the magistrates, whose duty it is to attend only to civil causes, give judgement upon Clergy, nor henceforward in any way, on pretence of providing for the Churches, attempt any thing against the brethren."

The Encyclical letter is addressed to their "most beloved brethren, the Bishops and fellow ministers of the Catholic and Apostolic Church every where." They say, "Our most religious Emperors have themselves assembled us together out of different Provinces and Cities, and have permitted this holy Council to be held in the City of Sardica ; to the end that all dissension may be done away, and all false doctrine being driven from us, Christian Godliness may alone be maintained by all men. The Bishops of the East also attended, being exhorted to do so by the most religious Emperors."

"Although all we Bishops were met together, and above all, he of most happy old age, Hosius, waiting and exhorting them to come to the trial, that what they had circulated and written in the absence of our fellow-ministers, they might establish in their presence, they would not come."

^r 1b. §. 43. p. 69. Theod. ii. 6. S. Hil. Fragm. ii.

They then declare why they acquitted S. Athanasius, and Marcellus. In regard to Asclepas, a Nicene father,^z whom the Eusebians had deposed, they mention a Council of Eusebian Bishops, who had been constrained to acquit him. "Our brother Asclepas produced Reports which had been drawn up at Antioch in the presence of his accusers and Eusebius of Cæsarea, and proved that he was innocent by the sentence of the Bishops who judged his cause." "We pronounced Athanasius, Marcellus, Asclepas, and those who minister to the Lord with them, to be clear of offence, and have written to the Diocese of each, that the people of each Church may know the innocence of their own Bishop, and may esteem him as their Bishop, and expect his coming. As for those who like wolves have invaded their Churches,—let them neither give them the title of Bishop, nor hold any communion at all with them, nor receive letters from them, nor write to them. And for Theodorus &c. [Arians]—the holy Council has unanimously deposed them from the Episcopate, and we have decided that they not only are not Bishops, but that they are unworthy of holding communion with the faithful.—Charge your people that no one hold communion with them ; for there is 'no communion of light with darkness;' put away from you all these ; for there is no 'concord of Christ with Belial.' And take heed, dearly beloved, that ye neither write to them nor

^z See S. Ath. Hist. Tracts. p. 69. n. e. O. T.

receive letters from them; but desire rather, brethren and fellow ministers, as being present in spirit with our Council, to assent to our judgements by your subscriptions, to the end that concord may be preserved by all our fellow-ministers every where." The Council sent also a letter to S. Julius of Rome, at the close of which it requests him to inform the Bishops in Sicily, Sardinia, and Italy of their judgments. "Your^a excellent wisdom should arrange that through your letters our brethren^b who are in Sicily, in Sardinia, in Italy, should know what has been done and defined, lest in ignorance they should accept the literæ communicatoræ, i. e. the Episcopal letters, of those whom a just sentence has degraded. But let Marcellus and Athanasius and Asclepas persevere in our communion, because an unjust judgment must not injure them, through the flight and tergiversation of those, who would not meet the judgment of all of us, the Bishops assembled." The Council of Sardica was collected out of forty-eight^c Provinces.

The aged Hosius was again President^d of the

^a Ep. ad Jul. a Synod. fin. in S. Hil. Fragm. ii. §. 13. p. 1292.

^b The Council repeats this at the end, "our brethren and fellow-Bishops." Ib.

^c The Encyclical letter in Theodoret ii. 6. enumerated 38; S. Athanasius (Apol. ag. Ar. init. p. 14.) 36; but of these, Isauria, Cyprus, Pamphylia, Dalmatia, Siscia, Picenum, Tuscany, Bruttia, Sicily, Britain, are not mentioned in the Encyclical letter in Theodoret.

^d "Bishops, having Hosius for their Father," S. Ath. Arian Hist. §. 15. p. 230. "Hosius and all the other Bishops." Ib. p. 232. "the holy Council, of which the great Hosius was the president." Ib. "the president of Councils" §. 42. p. 255. "who had the first place in the Council of Sardica." Theod. ii. 15. fin. "Hosius and those with him." Soz. ii. 12. init. "Hosius

Council; the Bishop of Rome pleading "a^e good and necessary excuse for his absence," the risk lest his flock should suffer from heresy or schism. Hosius signs the first; S. Athanasius and Paulus did not sign the Encyclical letter, probably as relating to themselves. Julius was the only other Patriarch represented in the Council, and signed by his Presbyters, next to Hosius; then the Bishop of Sardica itself, the venerable Protogenes, a Nicene Father, to whom, thirty one years before, A. D. 316, Constantius had sent a rescript about enfranchising slaves in presence of Bishops^f.

The number of Bishops actually present at Sardica was small^g. S. Athanasius, an eyewitness, states the whole number, before the departure of the seventy-six Eusebian Bishops, to have been "one hundred and seventy^h Bishops, more or less." The Orthodox Bishops then present were only ninety-four; or, perhaps, (since S. Athanasius' "more or less" would leave that latitude), the Orthodox Bishops were those eighty-sixⁱ only, who subscribed, mostly with

was the first in the judgment at Sardica." *Allocut. Conc. Chalc. ad Marcian.* P. iii. c. 1. iv. p. 1765. ed. Col.

^e Ep. Synod. ad Jul. in S. Hil. *Fragm.* ii. §. 9. p. 1290.

^f L. 1. C. de his qui in Eccl. manum.

^g *Arian Hist.* §. 15. p. 230. O. T.

^h S. Ath. says "the sentence that was passed in my favor received the suffrages of more than 300 Bishops," (*Apol. ag. Ar. init.* p. 14. O. T.) It was subscribed by 344 Bishops (*Ib.* p. 78.) 284 names only are preserved. (*Ib.* and *Conc.* ii. 707. sq.) But S. Athanasius says that the "names of nearly 63 others, out of Asia, Phrygia, Isauria, who wrote in his behalf, might be found in their own letters." (*l. c.*)

ⁱ S. Athanasius sets down the names of seventy-eight Bishops promiscuously before he names those who subscribed from different provinces (*Apol. ag. Ar.* §. 50.

the names of their sees. But, although the Bishops present were so nearly balanced, the Eusebian Bishops “went^k out, being convicted by their own conscience,” fearing to be condemned, at once for their false witness against S. Athanasius, and for their own true guilt. The Orthodox, on the contrary, were strong in their faith and conscience, in the presence of the Holy Ghost, and in their knowledge of the concurrence of the Church every where. The number of those who, at the Council’s request, “assented to its judgements by their subscriptions,” were two hundred and eighty four, besides sixty three who “wrote in S. Athanasius’ behalf;” in all three hundred and forty seven.¹

These subscriptions however, were appended to the letter of the Council, and guaranteed the decisions contained therein, as to the innocence of S. Athanasius, and the other accused, and the guilt of their Eusebian enemies. The Bishops present did not circulate the Canons which they framed. Their Synodical letter entered at full length^m into two of the subjects for which the Emperors had convened them. Into the matter of faith they declined

p. 76, 7. O. T.) S. Hilary puts down the names of nearly the same Bishops with their sees, omitting several, but adding six omitted by S. Ath. Two, Euphrates and Olympius, are omitted by both. In all, they are eighty-six. Montf. Praef. ad. S. Ath. p. xxxiv.

^k S. John viii. 9.

¹ Apol. ag. Ar. §. 50. p. 75. and n. o. O. T.

^m The Council of Sardica itself says, “The Emperors permitted that all things should be discussed anew, and, before all, the Holy Faith and integrity of truth, which these had violated.” The second related to those whom the Eusebians had deposed; the third, to the injuries which they had inflicted. Ep. ad Jul. in S. Hil. Fragm. ii. 11. p. 1291.

to enter, (though some of their body “desired and attempted it,”) on the ground, that” aⁿ second faith ought not to be set forth, lest the first, written at Nice, should be thought imperfect ; and a plea be given to those who desired often to write and define about the faith.”

The Canons were signed only by the Bishops present. The Council of Sardica then became Œcumenical as to its judgements, being received by the Church. The Canons remained as the act of the Bishops who had framed them. These twenty or twenty-one Canons related chiefly to Bishops, being occasioned mostly by the misconduct of the Arian Bishops. They checked translations^o, and the consecration of Bishops for small places^p, (both of which the Eusebians had recently practised) as also their going to Court^a, (which the Arian Bishops had poisoned, but in going to which the African Bishops had persisted against the judgment of Gratius, Bishop of Carthage), ordinations of Bishops per saltum^r (which the Arians had frequently done and in the case of very worthless persons,) and the interference with the Dioceses and^s Clerks of other Bishops ; but this with necessary restrictions^t. As being framed for a peculiar time, these Canons may not have been intended for general reception, and on this ground may not have been circulated.

ⁿ S. Ath. Tom. ad Antioch. §. 5. p. 772, 3. ed. Ben.

^o Can. 1. 2.

^p Can. 6.

^q Can. 8-12.

^r Can. 13.

^s Can. 14. 16. 18. 19.

^t Can. 5. 15. 17.

Other Canons ^u secured to Bishops, deposed by the neighbouring Bishops, the power of having their sentence revised. These Canons also seem to have been occasioned by the tyranny of the Eusebians. The right given was to have the sentence revised if “Julius ^v Bishop of Rome should see good. “Yet it was not by way of appeal, but of revision; not at Rome, but by the Bishops of the neighbouring province, with or without the legates of the Roman Bishop.” The specific mention of Julius in the first instance, seems again to imply a temporary object, such as was protection against the Eusebians. In any case, this limited reference to the Bishop of Rome is made in a form which shews that it was something new. “If any of the Bishops have been judged in any cause, and think that his cause is good, so that the judgement should be renewed, *if you think good*, let us honour the memory of the Apostle Peter, so that they who examined the cause should write to Julius, the Roman Bishop &c. “This form is very strong to shew,” says Tillemont^w, “that it was a right which the Pope had not had hitherto.” “The words of the Canon” says de Marca^x,” prove that the institution of this law is new. ‘If it seem good to you,’ says Hosius &c. He does not say that the ancient tradition is to be confirmed, as was wont to be done in matters

^u Can. 3. 4. 7.

^v Can. 3. He is not mentioned by name in can. 4. and 7. having been already spoken of in the third, upon which they bear.

^w S. Athanas. Art. 51. T. 8. p. 221.

^x Conc. Sac. vii. 3. 8.

which required only the renewal or explanation of the ancient law." S. Athanasius himself insists strongly on the difference of the two forms of speech, the one declaring what is old, the other enacting what is new. "They^y [the Council of Nice] wrote concerning the Easter, 'It seemed good' as follows; for it did *then* seem good, that there should be a general compliance; but about the faith they wrote not, 'It seemed good,' but 'Thus believes the Catholic Church;' and thereupon they confessed how the faith lay, in order to shew that their sentiments were *not novel*, but Apostolic."

These three Canons form one whole^z. Can. 3. required the Bishops who held the trial, to write to Julius Bishop of Rome, if the deposed Bishop should think his cause good. Can. 4. That in such cases a successor be not appointed to a Bishop deposed by the judgment of the neighbouring Bishops, until the cause be determined. Can. 7. appoints the mode in which the cause should be reheard, if reheard at all, viz. that the Bishop of Rome should write to the Bishops in the neighbouring Province, that *they* should diligently inquire and define. Power was also given to the Bishop of Rome, to send a Presbyter, "to *judge with the Bishops*, with the authority of him, by whom he was sent."

This was the first impulse to appeals to Rome. But it differed very much from the system engrafted

^y Counc. Arim. and Sel. §. 5. p. 80.

^z De Marca. l. c. §. 10.

upon it. 1. What it granted was a revision of a cause, not strictly an appeal^a. The deposed party, in this case, remained deposed, though no successor was appointed to him. 2. The cause was heard where it happened, not drawn to Rome. 3. It was mainly decided by the Bishops of the neighbouring Province; the legate of the Bishop of Rome, if sent, only judged *with them*. 4. Presbyters were allowed an appeal to the neighbouring Bishops, not to Rome.

Greater powers were conferred on the see of Constantinople, by the ninth Canon of the Council of Chalcedon.

The Canons of Sardica were not received even in the West until the sixth century, when Dionysius Exiguus inserted them, as also some African Canons, in his *Codex Canonum*. The Bishops of Rome did not know to what Council they belonged, since they quoted them continually as Canons of Nice. S. Epiphanius^b calls the Council of Sardica “a Western Synod.” The African Bishops could not but have known the Sardican Canons, since Gratus Bishop of Carthage who was present at the Council, says in the first Council of Carthage, “I *remember* that it was enacted in the most holy Council of Sardica, that none should usurp^c [in or for Holy Orders] a man belonging to another people.” Yet when in the case of the wretched priest Apiarius, who (contrary to the Canons of^d Africa and of Nice) appealed

^a see De Marca l. c. 6. and 7.

^c Can. 5. Conc. ii. 749.

^b Hær. 71. init.

^d Can. 13. 15. ii. 667. 670.

to the Bishop of Rome. Zosimus and Boniface claimed the right of hearing the appeal on the alleged authority of the Council of Nice; the African Bishops, and among them S. Augustine distinctly, acknowledged the authority of the Canon, if it should be a Canon of Nice, but peremptorily set aside the claim, when it appeared from the collation of the originals at Alexandria and Constantinople, that it was not a Canon of that Council.^e They acknowledged in principle the authority of a General Council, but did not recognize that of a Canon of Sardica.

In the case of translation of Bishops, the African Church observed the Nicene, not the Sardican Canons^f. Nor is there any trace of the reception of the Sardican Canons in the period before Leo I. The Bishops of France deposed such Bishops as merited it, mostly without interference; and when Zosimus, at the instance of Patroclus of Arles, would depose Proculus of Marseilles, the attempt had no effect^g. Nor did S. Hilary of Arles know of any Canon, which justified S. Leo in interfering in behalf of Celidonius whom he himself, with a Gallican Synod, had deposed^h.

The Canons of Sardica were received in a degree in the Greek Church in the Council of Trulloⁱ, but not as those of an Œcumenical Council. The

^e Cod. Eccl. Afr. c. 134.

Note 61. T. 8. p. 690.

^f See Tillemont Notes sur S. Athanase.

^g See Quesnel Diss. v. Apol. pro S. Hilario Arelat. c. 16. in S. Leo Opp. T. 2. p. 835. sqq.

^h See S. Hilarii Vit. c. 17. Ib. p. 333. Quesnel Ib. c. 14. sqq. S. Leo Ep. 10. ad. Episc. Vienn. c. 2, 3. p. 634, 5. ⁱ Conc. Quini-Sext. can. 2. Conc. vii. p. 1346

four General Councils, that of Trullo designates by the well-known familiar titles, the three hundred and eighteen at Nice, the one hundred and fifty at Constantinople, the two hundred at Ephesus, the six hundred and thirty holy and blessed fathers at Chalcedon. The Canons of Sardica are no otherwise mentioned than those of Ancyra, Neo-Cæsarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea, Carthage, or the Canons under Nectarius and Theophilus, or even the Canons of single Patriarchs or Bishops, as S. Dionysius, S. Peter, S. Athanasius, S. Timothy and S. Cyril of Alexandria, the S. Gregories of Neo-Cæsarea, Nyssa, Nazianzum, S. Basil and S. Amphilochius, to which the "Council subjoins the Canon, set forth by Cyprian, formerly Arch-Bishop of Africa and Martyr, and the Synod in his time [on heretical Baptism,] which according to transmitted custom, prevailed in the place of the aforesaid Bishops [of Africa] and there only."

The immediate result of the Council was the short-lived restoration of S. Athanasius to his see, extorted by the Emperor Constans from his brother Constantius^k. The Council itself had addressed both Emperors^l. Constantius himself said to S. Athanasius, "Thou^m hast recovered thy see by the vote of the Council, and by our consent"; and restored to their sees all whom he had banished and the Council had restored.

^k Theod. ii. 8. fin.

^l in S. Hil. l. c. §. 12. fin. p. 1291, and S. Hil. himself Fragm. ii. fin. p. 1306.

^m Soer. ii. 23.

“Meantime theⁿEusebians, departing from Sardica, made a Council for themselves at Philippopolis.”

Philippopolis and Sardica lay on the opposite sides of the mountains which separated Thrace and Illyricum, the boundary Provinces of the Empires of Constantius and Constans. The pass of Succio furnished an easy communication between the two Capitals. The Eusebians then retired into the Empire of their patron Constantius, where the neighbourhood of Sardica countenanced their fraud in giving out that they were^p *the* Catholic Council of Sardica. They dated their Synodical letter from Sardica, and put out their faith as the faith of Sardica. They call themselves “Bishops^q from the different Provinces of the Eastern parts,” (of which they enumerate twenty-four,) “gathered at the City of Sardica.” They address their letter to the Arian Bishops of Alexandria and Nicomedia with the Donatist Bishop of Carthage and eleven others, “and all our fellow-Bishops, Presbyters, and deacons, and all under heaven in the holy Catholic Church.” They say, “To maintain a blameless life &c. is the duty of all,—especially of us Bishops, who preside over the most holy Churches; secondly, that the rules of the Church and the holy traditions and judgments of the Fathers should remain firm and steadfast for ever, and should

ⁿ Socr. ii. 10. who states wrongly that they “anathematized the Homoousion and spread abroad by their letters the Anomoion.”

^o Amm. Marc. xxi. 10. ^p S. Aug. Ep. 44. ad Glor. &c. §. 6. c. Cresc. iii. 34.

^q in S. Hil. Fragm. iii. p. 1307.

not be disturbed, especially in making or rejecting Bishops."

Their special plea against the Council of Sardica was, that S. Athanasius had been condemned by Bishops in the East, and so that his cause ought not to be reheard in the West. True, if their own judgment had not been corrupt. They say, "They [the Council of Sardica] ^r thought to introduce a new law, that Eastern Bishops should be judged by Westerns." "They ^s essayed to introduce this novelty, abhorrent from the ancient custom of the Church, that any thing which Eastern Bishops had settled in Council, might be ripped up by Western Bishops ; in like way, whatever Bishops in the Western part [should settle] might be undone by Easterns. But this they did out of their own most perverse mind. Whereas the Acts of our forefathers establish, that the decrees of all Councils duly and lawfully held, are to be confirmed. For a Council held in the City of Rome, in the time of Novatus and Sabellius and Valentinus heretics, was confirmed by the Easterns ; and again what was enacted in the East, at the time of Paul at Samosata, was sealed by all." For the rest, they repeat their wonted calumnies ; condemn Julius, Hosius, and three other Bishops, "according to a most ancient law," for ^t communicating with

^r Ib. §. 12. p. 1314.

^s Ib. §. 26. p. 1320.

^t Ib. §. 29. p. 1322, 3. comp. S. Ath. Counc. Arim. and Seleuc. §. 25. p. 110, 1. and §. 26. p. 111. O. T.

Marcellus, Athanasius, and Paul ; and subjoin, as their confession of faith, the fourth of their Creeds, which they had already sent into Gaul, adding only the anathemas of the Macrostich, without their explanation or the remarkable addition, then made, which comes so near to the Catholic faith.

The letter is signed by seventy-three Bishops.^u They call themselves eighty ^v Bishops, perhaps exaggerating themselves into a round number. The existing letter is a copy of that sent into Africa.^w The chief Bishops of those who sign the letter are the too well known leaders of the extreme Arian party, with some few of the Semi-Arians, as Basil of Ancyra. The Meletian Bishops, Callinicus of Pelusium, Eudæmon of Tanis, Ision of Athrib, the false accusers of S. Athanasius at the Council of Tyre,^x also subscribed, together with the infamous and convicted Ischyrras,^y whose perjuries against S. Athanasius the Eusebians had paid with a Bishopric in Mareotis,^z the scene of his plot.

The Council of Jerusalem was held to receive S. Athanasius on his return towards his see. "Being then set forward on my journey," he writes,^a "as I passed through Syria, I met with the Bishops of Palestine, who, when they had called a Council at Jerusalem, received me courteously, and themselves

^u Ib. p. 1323-6.

^v Ib. §. 16. p. 1315. Socrates (ii. 20.) from Sabinus, calls them 76. Two, we have seen, left them and joined the Catholics.

^w S. Hil. Ib. fin.

^x Socr. i. 27.

^y The four names are amongst the subscriptions in S. Hil. Fragm. iii. p. 1334, 5.

^z Soz. iii. 12.

^a Apol. ag. Ar. §. 57. p. 85.

also sent me on my way in peace, and addressed the following letter to the Church, and the Bishops." The Epistle was one of congratulation on the restoration of their Bishop. It is signed by sixteen Bishops^b, fifteen of whose names^c are appended to the Council of Sardica, being "all^d the Bishops of Palestine, except two or three of suspected character."

"Maximus,^e without delay, sent for certain of the Bishops from Syria and Palestine, and having convened a Synod, himself also restores communion and his dignity to Athanasius. And the Synod itself too writes to the Bishops in Alexandria, and to all the Bishops in Egypt and Lybia, what had been decided and decreed concerning Athanasius."

Maximus the confessor, died soon after this, and S. Cyril succeeded on his death^f. He was "consecrated by Acacius, and the other Arian Bishops." The ^g General Council of Constantinople, in their Synodical Epistle to the Bishops of the West, owned him, as having been "long since canonically consecrated by the Bishops of the Eparchy, and having, in different places, striven against the Arians."

Stephen, the Arian intruder on the see of Antioch, and President of the Council of Philippopolis, upon the discovery of a disgraceful plot against the two Bishops who had been sent from Sardica to Constan-

^b Ib. p. 80.

^c Ib. p. 78.

^d Ar. Hist. §. 25. p. 238.

^e Soer. ii. 24. Soz. iv. 6.

^f Theod. ii. 26. S. Jerome Chron. A. D. 352.

^g Conc. ii. 1150.

tius, was “given over” by the secular judges “to the Bishops there present, to be deposed.^h” The Synodicon says that he was condemned by the very heretical Synod which he had himself convened.ⁱ He was succeeded by Leontius, as heretical and more crafty than himself.

Photinus was condemned at three^k Councils ; at Milan, A. D. 347. ; at Sirmium where he was Bishop, by Catholics A. D. 349. ; and again at Sirmium A. D. 351. by the Eusebians. S. Hilary mentions the two first. “To remove ¹ Photinus from the Episcopate, who had two years before been condemned as a heretic in the Synod of Milan, Bishops are gathered out of many Provinces, the more anxious lest every thing should be again confused, because it had been necessary to cut off from the Church many Bishops, guilty either of false judgment against Athanasius, or of communion with the Arian heresy.”

The Fathers at Ariminum mention in their Epistle to Constantius, that “Ursacius^m and Valens asked pardon, [as to their heresy and the part which they had taken against S. Athanasius] and obtained it then at the Council of Milan, in the presence of the legates of the Roman Church.” These two Arian

^h Theod. ii. 9, 10.

ⁱ Conc. T. ii. p. 765.

^k see Petavius de Photini damnatione in Conc. T. ii. p. 783. ed: Col. S. Epiph. Hær. 71. n. 1. says that he was condemned at Sardica, but the Encyclical letter does not mention it. The Macrostich speaks in condemnation of his disciples Conc. Arim. §. 16. p. 114. O. T. see further on the Councils of Sirmium, Note on Conc. Arim. and Sel. p. 160. sqq. and Pref. to S. Ath. Hist. Tracts, p. xvii-xix. O. T.

¹ Fragm. ii. 19. p. 1296.

^m in S. Ath. Conc. Arim. §. 10. p. 86.

Bishops owned "all which they had said against S. Athanasius to be false, and anathematized the Arian heresy, although insincerely."

The judgments of the Council of Sardica were formally received at Councils of Cordova and Jerusalem. "Hosiusⁿ the very holy Bishop of Cordova, having called a Divine and holy Council of Bishops in his own City, uttered clearly the Divine instruction, condemning whom the Sardican Council deposed, and again, receiving whom it acquitted."

Soon after the accession of Liberius to the Roman see, the Arians circulated fresh calumnies against S. Athanasius; and endeavoured to gain Liberius. It seems probable that Liberius was even then so far misled, as to send to S. Athanasius, "to come to Rome, that whatever was the discipline of the Church might be enacted towards him." An Epistle,^o stated in S. Hilary's historical work to be from "Liberius^p Bishop of Rome to all his most beloved brethren and fellow-Bishops throughout the East," states that he had received letters from them written to Julius; that he had sent to S. Athanasius, "that if he should not come, he was alien from the Communion of the Roman Church," that Liberius' "Presbyters reported

ⁿ Synodic. in Conc. ii. 778.

^o Baronius (ad A. D. 352.) and the Benedictine Editors of S. Hilary regard this letter as an Arian forgery. Tillemont regards it as genuine. (Les Ariens art. 48. vi. 350-7. S. Athanase art. 64. viii. 138-40 and Note 68). The letter does not bear the character of a forgery. There is dislocation in these fragments, here as elsewhere. What follows in S. Hilary relates doubtless to a letter of the Council of Sardica.

^p Fragm. iv. p. 1327.

on their return that he would not come. Following then your letters, dearly beloved, which you sent us as to Athanasius, know ye by these letters, which I have addressed to your Unanimity, that I am in Communion with you all, and with all the Bishops of the Catholic Church, and that the aforesaid Athanasius is alien from my Communion i. e. of the Roman Church, and from the fellowship of Ecclesiastical Epistles."

Liberius, however, probably repented on receiving the letter of the Egyptian Bishops concerning him, and, for the time at least, suppressed his letter. For it is clear that he did not then renounce the communion of S. Athanasius. He pleads, however, rather timidly to Constantius, that he had read to a Council of Italian Bishops letters in his^a defence both from the Oriental Bishops (probably a Council) all of which contained the same criminal charges against S. Athanasius, and from a large body, of eighty Egyptian Bishops. Liberius however even wished in the emergency to have the cause of S. Athanasius re-opened, if on the same occasion the faith could be settled once for all.

He writes to Hosius,^r "many Bishops of Italy met together, who, with me, entreated the most religious Emperor Constantius that he would command, as he had once settled, that a Council should be held at Aquileia." On the failure of this, Liberius adjures

^a Ep. 2. ad Const. Conc. ii. 801. S. Hil. Fragm. v. §. 2. p. 1330.

^r Ep. 1. Ib. p. 799. S. Hil. Fragm. vi. §. 3. p. 1334.

the Emperor that “he^s would cause the matter of faith and of S. Athanasius to be diligently considered with all care in an assembly of Bishops—so that what should be confirmed by the judgment of the Bishops of God, should be kept for the time to come, when it should be ascertained that all agreed in the exposition of faith, which was confirmed at Nice among so many Bishops.”

The death of the Usurper Magnentius, the murderer of Constans, A. D. 353. put Constantius in possession of the whole West, and in a position to persecute the Catholics there. Even Heathen historians^t notice a change in him at this time, as lifted up by prosperity and arrogant, so that he spoke of “my eternity,” called himself “Lord of the whole world,” “the Eternal.” In this, which the Heathen thought “a declension from justice,” the Arian Bishops flattered him. “Pretending^u to write about the Lord, they name for themselves another Sovereign, Constantius. For he it was, who bestowed on them this reign of irreligion, and they who deny that the Son is everlasting, have called him Eternal Emperor.” “They^v deceived the ignorant King, that occupied with wars, he should expose the faith to faithlessness, and, himself not yet regenerate, should impose on the Church the law of belief.” Thus flattered and arbitrary, and readily listening to ac-

^s Ep. ad Const. p. 802. S. Hil. Fragm. v. §. 6. p. 1332.

^t Zosim. L. i. fin. Amm. Marc. L. 15. init.

^u S. Ath. Conc. Arim. §. 4. p. 76, 7,

^v S. Hil. de Syn. §. 78. p. 1194.

cusers, Constantius had a special dislike to S. Athanasius as one opposed to his will. The Arians inflamed him against S. Athanasius, and he himself during his expedition against Magnentius, was irritated by seeing how the Bishops were in communion with him.^w The unbaptised Emperor wished to impose his own belief on the Church, requiring more open heretics to conform to it, yet chiefly persecuting the Catholics. Yet the persecution fell on those mostly, who had the power of deciding matters of faith, the Bishops. Constantius bent his force against them, knowing that if they could be corrupted, or subdued, his end was accomplished, and *not* knowing that the Rock of Faith was immovable.

“When ^x Magnentius had perished, and Constantius alone held the Roman Empire, he used all diligence, that the Bishops in the West should agree with those who thought the Son ‘of *like* substance’ with the Father. This he did, not at first with such open force; but persuading them to confirm what had been adjudged by the Bishops of the East against Athanasius. For he counted, if that man [S. Athanasius] were removed out of the way, he could easily succeed in matters of religion.”

In a Synod of Bishops at Arles,^y A. D. 353. Constantius, having threatened to banish the Bishops, unless they would condemn S. Athanasius, all gave way, except Paulinus who was condemned by the

^w S. Ath. Arian Hist. §. 30. p. 243. O. T.

^x Soz. iv. 8.

^y Sulp. ii. 55.

Synod, when corrupted. "He was held," says S. Hilary,^z "unworthy of the Church by Bishops, worthy of exile by the Emperor."

Vincentius, Bishop of Capua, formerly the representative of the Bishop of Rome at the Council of Nice, was, with Marcellus a Bishop from Campania, the representative of the Roman Council now.^a The Westerns offered what seemed a strange compromise, that they would condemn Athanasius, if the Arians would condemn the heresy of Arius.^b It must have been offered, in order to expose the heresy of their opponents, in the conviction that these would not accept the condition. "After deliberation, the Arians answered, that they could not condemn the heresy of Arius, but that Athanasius must be deprived of communion, which alone they required." "Vincentius^c too was carried away into that dissimulation."

In the East A. D. 354. "Narcissus^d of Cilicia, Theodorus the Thracian, Eugenius of Nice, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, and Menophantus of Ephesus, [Arian Bishops] and others in all about thirty, meeting at Antioch, wrote to the Bishops everywhere, that he [S. Athanasius] returned to Alexandria against the laws of the Church, not having been first pronounced innocent in Synod, but through contention of those like-minded; and they exhorted not to communicate with him, nor send letters to him, but with and to [George of Cappadocia]

^z Fragm. i. 6.

^a Ib. Fragm. v. 2.

^b Ib. i. 5.

^c Ib. vi. 3.

^d Soz. iv. 8.

whom they had consecrated. Constantius tried to persuade the Western Bishops to agree to what had been judged by the Eastern Bishops against Athanasius." This wrongful decision the Arians proceeded to use against S. Athanasius in the West.

Liberius, even after^e the fall of Vincentius his legate, renewed his petition to Constantius to call a Council. "Not the matter of Athanasius alone, but many other things had occurred, for which I had prayed your clemency that a Council should be held."

The Council was held A. D. 355. at Milan, because the Emperor, on making peace with the Alemanni, had gone into winter quarters there.^f "Very^g few Bishops were present from the East, the rest excusing their coming, for sickness or length of journey; of the Western Bishops more than three hundred.^h When the Eastern Bishops urged the condemnation of Athanasius, that so he might be wholly expelled from Alexandria, the rest, through fear or deceit, or ignorance of the facts, agreed. Only Dionysius Bishop of Alba [rather Milan] and Eusebius Bishop of Vercellæ, Paulinus of Treves, Rhodanus and Lucifer resisted."

"The faith," says S. Hilary,ⁱ "was impugned by the priests." All was done by violence. When Lucifer of Sardinia was "called upon to subscribe against

^e Liberius in his Epistle to the Emperor speaks of Vincentius' mission to Arles, as past. ^f Amm. Marc. xiv. 10. ^g Soz. iv. 9.

^h Socr. ii. 16. gives the same number. Vales. conjectures that it is a mistake for thirty. But the title of the Council is Universal, which would hardly be given to one so small. Conc. ii. 877. ⁱ ad Const. i. 9.

Athanasius, he said, ‘we must first be certain of the faith of the Bishops;’ for he knew that some of those present were defiled with heresy. He placed the Creed of Nice in the midst, pledging himself to do all they required, if they would subscribe the confession of faith. Dionysius, Bishop of Milan, first took the paper. When he began to profess the faith by subscribing, Valens [the Arian Bishop] violently wrested pen and paper out of his hand.”

Rufinus gives a summary of the policy of Constantius. “He^k set himself to weary out the Western Bishops, and through deceit to compel them to consent to the Arian heresy, premising the condemnation of Athanasius, as the removal of a most mighty obstacle. Wherefore a Council of Westerns is called together at Milan. Many were deceived; but Dionysius, Paulinus, Rhodanius, and Lucifer, proclaiming aloud that there was treachery in the transaction, and asserting that the subscription against Athanasius was contrived to no other end than the destruction of the faith, were thrust out into banishment. Hilary was joined to these, the rest either not knowing or not believing the fraud.”

“I am a Bishop,” S. Hilary writes^l to the Emperor Constantius, “in the Communion of all the Churches and Bishops of Gaul, although in exile, and still distributing Communion to the Church through my Presbyters. I am in exile, not through guilt, but

^k H. E. i. 19, 20.

^l ad Const. ii. 2.

through faction, and by false reports of the Synod to thee."

Two characteristic traits of the arbitrariness of Constantius in the Council are given by S. Athanasius. "When^m he saw the boldness of the Bishops, Paulinus, Lucifer, Eusebius, and Dionysius, and how out of the recantation of Ursacius and Valens they confuted those who spoke against the Bishop, and advised that Valens and his associate should no longer be believed, since they had already retracted what they now asserted, he immediately stood up and said, 'I am now the accuser of Athanasius, and on my account you must believe what these assert.'"

"Theⁿ Emperor summoned [these same Bishops] before him, and commanded them to subscribe against Athanasius, and to hold communion with the heretics; and when they were astonished at this novel procedure, and said that there was no Ecclesiastical Canon to this effect, he immediately said, 'whatever I will, let that be esteemed a Canon; the Bishops of Syria let me thus speak. Either then obey or go into banishment.'"

Yet this same Constantius, who knew of no law except his own will, and "drew^o his sword against Bishops," was obliged to respect the constitution of the Church and act against her through Bishops. Hence S. Athanasius says, "he^p alleged a judgement of Bishops, while in truth he acted only to please himself."

^m Arian Hist. §. 76. p. 287, 8. O. T.

ⁿ Ib. §. 33. p. 246.

^o §. 34.

^p Ib. §. 52. p. 265, 6.

“Nevertheless his craft has not escaped detection, but we have the proof of it ready at hand. For if a judgment had been passed by Bishops, what concern had the Emperor with it? Or if it was only a threat of the Emperor, what need in that case was there of the so-named Bishops? When was such a thing heard of before from the beginning of the world? When did a judgment of the Church receive its validity from the Emperor? Or rather when was his decree ever recognised by the Church? There have been many Councils held heretofore; and many judgments passed by the Church; but the Fathers never sought the consent of the Emperor thereto, nor did the Emperor busy himself with the affairs of the Church. The Apostle Paul had friends among them of Cæsar’s household, and in his Epistle to the Philippians he sent salutations from them; but he never took them as his associates in Ecclesiastical judgments. Now however we have witnessed a novel sight, which is a discovery of the Arian heresy. Heretics have assembled together with the Emperor Constantius, in order that he, alleging the authority of the Bishops, may exercise his power against whomsoever he pleases, and while he persecutes, may avoid the name of persecutor; and that they, supported by the Emperor’s government, may conspire the ruin of whomsoever they will; and these are, all such as are not as impious as themselves. One might look upon their proceedings as a comedy which they are performing on the stage, in which the pretended Bishops are actors.”

It was then but a prosecution of the proceedings against this Council, that Constantius used all violence to make all Bishops subscribe every where against S. Athanasius. As S. Athanasius and the Council of Sardica had sought from the Bishops in their Provinces confirmation of its sentence, acquitting S. Athanasius, so the Emperor sought to extort by violence from the Bishops every where, confirmation of those subscriptions which he had already extorted at Arles and Milan, condemning him.

“Orders were ^a sent also and Notaries despatched to every city, and Palatines, with threats to the Bishops and Magistrates, directing the Magistrates to urge on the Bishops, and informing the Bishops that either they must subscribe against Athanasius, and hold communion with the Arians, or themselves undergo the punishment of exile, while the people who took part with them were to understand that chains, and insults, and scourgings, and the loss of their possessions, would be their portion. These orders were not neglected ; for the commissioners had in their company the Clergy of Ursacius and Valens, to inspire them with zeal, and to inform the Emperor if the Magistrates neglected their duty. The other heresies, as younger sisters of their own, they permitted to blaspheme the Lord, and only conspired against the Christians, not enduring to hear orthodox language concerning Christ. How many Bishops

^a Ar. Hist. §. 31. p. 243, 4.

in consequence, according to the words of Scripture, were 'brought before rulers and kings,' and received this sentence from the Magistrates, 'Subscribe, or withdraw from your churches ; for the Emperor has commanded you to be deposed.' How many in every city were made to waver, lest they should accuse them as friends of the Bishops ! Moreover letters were sent to the city-authorities, and a threat of a fine was held out to them, if they did not compel the Bishops of their respective cities to subscribe. In short, every place and every city was full of fear and confusion, while the Bishops were dragged along to trial, and the magistrates witnessed the lamentations and groans of the people.

"Such were the proceedings of the Palatine commissioners. On the other hand, those admirable persons, confident in the patronage which they had obtained, display great zeal, and cause some of the Bishops to be summoned before the Emperor, while they persecute others by letters, inventing charges against them ; to the intent that the one might be overawed by the presence of Constantius, and the other, through fear of the commissioners and the threats held out to them in these pretended accusations, might be brought to renounce their orthodox and pious opinions. In this manner it was, that the Emperor forced so great a multitude of Bishops, partly by threats, and partly by promises, to declare, 'We will no longer hold communion with Athanasius.' For those who came for

an interview were not admitted to his presence, nor allowed any relaxation, not so much as to go out of their dwellings, until they had either subscribed, or refused and thereupon incurred banishment. And this he did, because he saw that the heresy was hateful to all men. For this reason especially, he compelled so many to add their names to the small number of the Arians, his earnest desire being to collect together a crowd of names, both from envy of the Bishops, and for the sake of making a shew in favour of the Arian impiety, of which he is the patron; supposing that he will be able to alter the truth, as easily as he can influence the minds of men."

A. D. 356. was the Council of Beziers, in which Saturninus^r and the Arian Bishops first refused to hear S. Hilary's exposure of Arianism, and then, circumventing the Emperor, had him banished.^s "Foreseeing,^t long before, the very grievous peril of the Faith, after the banishment of the holy men, Paulinus, Eusebius, Lucifer, Dionysius, five years ago, I, with the Gallican Bishops separated myself from the communion of Saturninus, Ursacius and Valens, granting to their associates space for repentance. Afterwards, forced through the faction of their false Apostles to the Synod of Beziers, I presented an account of this, which I undertook to prove to be heresy. But they, fearing to be pub-

^r Saturninus was Bishop of Arles, and "one of the worst of men, deposed and excommunicated" at the Council of Paris, "for many and monstrous crimes in addition to his heresy." Sulp. Sev. ii. 60.

^s S. Hil. de Syn. §. 2.

^t c. Const. §. 2.

licly cognizant of it, would not hear what I pressed upon them, thinking that they might falsely protest to Christ their innocence, if they were willingly ignorant of what they were about to do knowingly."

A. D. 357. "Confusion ^u having arisen, in consequence [of the greater distinctness with which Photinus put forth his heresy] the king commanded a Synod of Bishops at Sirmium. There assembled there then, of the Easterns Mark of Arethusa, George of Alexandria, Basil of Ancyra, Pancratius of Pelusium, Hypatian of Heraclea. From the West, Valens Bishop of Mursa, and Hosius the Confessor, who having taken part in the Council of Nice, was, against his will, present here too." In order that they might seem Catholics, they condemned Photinus in words,^v in deeds they furthered him." This Council put out three ^w Creeds. The first, (being the sixth of the Eusebians) was Semi-Arian; the second distinctly Arian; the third Homœan.

The first was an abridgment of the Macrostich or Creed of Antioch A. D. 345. "subtracting the greater part, and adding in its place," S. Athanasius writes, "as if they had listened to the suggestions of others." S. Hilary explains it and its anathemas in a true sense.^x Philastrius says "Photinus ^y was cast out of the Church of the Sirmians, overcome by the holy Bishops." Vigilius, in illustration of the fact, that

^u Socr. ii. 29. Soz. iv. 6.

^v S. Greg. Naz. orat. in laud. S. Ath. §. 23.

^w S. Ath. Conc. Arim. 27-29. p. 117-123. and §. 8. p. 83. O. T.

^x de Syn. §. 39-63.

^y de Hær. 18. B. P. iv. p. 708.

“after^z the Council of Nice, the Bishops, gathered in many places, published many enactments of faith, against the mad outbreaks of new heretics,” instances, among others, this Council. “Of that Catholic Council, gathered from the whole East against Photinus, who can gather in one the manifold sanctions as to faith?” The Council had a Catholic side, in that it condemned heresy.

The second Creed was written in Latin by Potamius, Bishop of Lisbon, and apparently received by the Arian Bishops of the West only. The preface to the Creed says, “All points of faith have been carefully investigated at Sirmium, in the presence of Valens, Ursacius, Germinius and the rest.” It is undisguised Arianism.^a

This avowal of naked Arianism, however, gave rise to fresh dissensions in the Council. The Semi-Arian party were supported by Constantius, on whose countenance they all depended for their influence. In their next Creed at Seleucia, A. D. 359, they speak of the third Creed, as “published^b lately at Sirmium, *under sanction of his religiousness the Emperor*,” and of their new Creed as being plainly “equivalent to it.” The Creed itself is ushered in, with a parade as to the presence of the Emperor, and dated by the Consulate. “The^c Catholic faith was published in the presence of our Sovereign, the most illustrious and gloriously victorious Emperor, Constantius, Au-

^z c. Eutych. v. init. B. P. viii. 736, 7, referred to in notes on S. Ath.

^a see S. Ath. Counc. Arim. p. 122, 3, and notes t. u.

^b Counc. Arim. §. 29. p. 124.

^c Ib. §. 8. p. 83.

gustus, the eternal and majestic, in the Consulate of the most illustrious Flavians, Eusebius and Hypatius, in Sirmium on the eleventh of the calends of June. (i. e. May 22. A. D. 359. Whitsun Eve.^d)

S. Athanasius says, “having^e drawn up [the second] and then becoming dissatisfied, they composed the faith, which, to their shame, they paraded with the Consulate.” Germinius, the Arian, who was present, says that it arose in a dissension on the faith. “A dissension^f as to the faith having arisen between some in the presence of the Emperor Constantius, there being present George Bishop of Alexandria, Pancratius of Pelusium, Basil then Bishop of Ancyra; Valens also and Ursacius being present and my poor self, after holding a disputation on the faith into the night, and bringing it to a certain rule; Mark [of Arethusa], chosen by us all, dictated the faith, wherein it is thus written, ‘that the Son is like the Father in all things, as the Holy and Divine Scriptures say and teach.’ To whose sound confession we all agreed, and subscribed with our hands.” “The word ‘substance’ was removed, as having been adopted by the Fathers in simplicity, and giving offence, as being misconceived by the people, and not contained in the Scriptures;” as, of course, many of the Arian terms also were not, (S. Athanasius remarks^g) and our terms cannot be, if we would explain, not simply repeat, the Scriptures.

^d Ib. n. z.^e Ib. §. 29. p. 123.^f in S. III. Fragm. 15, §. 3.^g see Nic. Def. §. 18. p. 31. §. 28. and n. p. p. 52. O. T. Counc. Arim. §. 36.

The presence of the Emperor is remarked by Socrates ^h also. Yet even among these idolaters of his power, who in adulation called him, "Eternal" and "Bishop of Bishops," *he* was present, but *they* decreed. "These ⁱ things were thus decreed as to the faith, while the Emperor was present."

Of these Creeds S. Hilary ^k speaks of the second and worst as that which the great and saintly Hosius was induced by exile and suffering and blows, and torture, ^l added to the weight of one hundred years, ^m to sign. He calls it "the blasphemy ⁿ written by Hosius and Potamius." Sozomen ^o says that this was withdrawn by the Council itself, and speaks of Hosius as consenting only to the Council generally, and again limits ^p his assent to the third Creed, which abandons the words "of one substance." Socrates says vaguely, that "he ^q subscribed the formulæ there."

Hosius ^r was condemned by the Spanish [Bishops ^s] [i. e. at least, refused ^t communion by the Bishops there] "acquitted by the Gallicans." He died A. D. 360. "At ^u the approach of death, he bore witness to

p. 133, 4. §. 39, 40. p. 136-8. and note i. §. 46. p. 146. Orat. i. ag. Ar. §. 30. p. 224, 5. §. 34. p. 229. ^h Socr. ii. 31. ⁱ Soz. iv. 6.

^k de Synod. §. 10. col. 1156. add §. 3. c. Const. §. 23. ^l Socr. and Soz. l. c.

^m see S. Ath. Ar. Hist. §. 42-46. p. 255-61. O. T. ⁿ l. c.

^o l. c. ^p c. 12. ^q l. c. ^r S. Aug. c. Ep. Parm. c. 4.

^s S. Augustine speaks of them as "Colleagues" of those in Gaul. (l. c.)

^t Eusebius of Vercellæ expresses his satisfaction to Gregory Bishop of Eliberis, that Gregory had "resisted Hosius the transgressor," and then, having spoken of those who fell at Ariminum, speaks generally of his "not holding communion with" them. (see S. Hil. Fragm. xi. p. 1356.)

^u S. Ath. Ar. Hist. §. 45. p. 260.

the force which had been used towards him, and anathematized the Arian heresy."

A. D. 358. appears to have been the fall of Liberius. He *had* resisted Constantius nobly, when irritated at his own failure at the Council at Milan. "After^v the Synod at Milan was dissolved nothing done, the Emperor, holding it of much moment, that the Church everywhere should agree as to the doctrine, and the Bishops be of one mind, purposed to call the Bishops from all quarters to the West. And considering that this was laborious, on account of the distance by land or sea, he was perplexed what to do, but did not wholly abandon the plan. Remaining in the same mind,—he sent for Liberius, Bishop of Rome, and tried to persuade him to agree with the Bishops around him, among whom was Eudoxius. But when Liberius contradicted, and protested that he never would do this, he commanded him to be taken away to Berœa of Thrace. Another plea for his exile was said to be, that he would not renounce the communion of Athanasius." "When the Emperor urged the judgment of those everywhere, [the Bishops], and especially of those who met at Tyre, Liberius said, that it was wrong to join their decision, as having judged only out of hatred and partiality. He desired that the faith handed down at Nice should be confirmed by the subscriptions of the Bishops every where, and that those in exile on this ground, should be recalled. When

^v Soz. iv. 11.

this should be done, in order that they [the Bishops] might not seem burdensome or a charge, no one [of them] should share any public money or conveyances, but all should, at their own expense, meet at Alexandria, where were the plaintiffs and the defendant, and the proofs of the charges, and where the truth of all this could be accurately tested." In answer to a charge of disloyalty against S. Athanasius, Liberius "requested the Emperor not to avenge himself through the hands of Bishops."

"When he would not submit to his bidding, the Emperor banished him to Thrace, deprived him of the Church of the Romans, and committed it to Felix, then a Deacon," who was consecrated by three Arian Bishops in his room.

He endured "two "years of exile " purposely insulated from all other confessors (a special aggravation of this persecution) ; the Deacon who bore his letters to the Emperor was scourged ^x; at last, "for fear of threatened death, he was induced to subscribe."^y

Fortunatian,^z Bishop of Aquileia [who had lapsed into Arianism] "seduced him, and constrained him to the subscription of heresy." He became the bearer of the letter of Liberius to the Emperor. The heretical Creed was offered to Liberius by Demophilus, one of the worst of the Arians. Liberius writes to the Arians, as his "most beloved ^abrethren the Presbyters and his fellow-Bishops of the East." The fall

^w S. Ath. Apol. ag. Ar. §. 89. p. 123.

^x Id, Ar. Hist. § 40. p. 253.

^y Ib. p. 254. ^z S. Jer. de Virr. ill. c. 97. ^a Ep. Lib. in S. Hil. Fragm. vi. 5.

was miserably complete. Such a fall could not be a half-fall. He apologises to the Bishops for ever having defended S. Athanasius, on the ground that Bishop Julius his predecessor had so done; but “having learned,” he says, “when it pleased God, that you had condemned him justly, I assented to your sentence.—So then Athanasius being removed from the communion of us all, so that I am not to receive even his letters, I say that I am quite at peace and concord with you all, and with all the Eastern Bishops, throughout the Provinces. But that ye may know better, that in this letter, I speak in true faith the same as^b my common Lord and brother Demophilus, who was so good as to vouchsafe to exhibit your Catholic Creed, which at Sirmium was by many of our brethren and fellow-Bishops considered, set forth, and received by all present; this I received with willing mind; contradicted in nothing; to it I gave my assent; this I follow; this is held by me.” S. Hilary interrupts the account thrice with the words “This is Arian faithlessness. This say I, not the Apostate.” “Anathema I say to thee, Liberius and thy associates.” “Again and a third time anathema to thee, prevaricator Liberius.” He subjoins to Liberius’ letter; “the faithlessness written at Sirmium, which Liberius calls Catholic, exhibited to him by Demophilus, was written by these; Narcissus, Theodorus, Basil, Eu-

^b The text is slightly corrupt. I have supplied *quæ* after *ea loqui*

^c S. Hil. Ib. §. 7.

doxius, Demophilus, Cecropius, Silvanus, Ursacius, Valens, Evagrius, Irenæus, Bassus, Gaudentius, Macedonius, Marcus, Aetius," with six others, including the leading Arian, with a few Semi-Arian, Bishops.

The letter, addressed by Liberius to Ursacius, Valens, and Germinius, is still more miserable. "Because I^d know that ye are sons of peace, and love concord and the unity of the Church, therefore, not compelled by any constraint, (God is my witness,) but for the good of peace and concord, which is preferred to martyrdom, I greet you with these letters, dearest Lords and brethren. Your prudence then should be informed, that Athanasius, who *was* Bishop of the Church at Alexandria, was condemned by me, before I sent the letters of the Eastern Bishops to the Court of the sacred Emperor, and that he was separated from the Communion of the Roman Church, as the whole Presbytery of the Roman Church is witness—Ye are to know, dearest brethren, by these letters in truth and simplicity of mind, that I am at peace with you all, the Bishops of the Catholic Church. Ye will gain for yourselves great consolation in the Day of retribution, if, through you, peace should be restored to the Roman Church. But I wish that, through you, our brethren and fellow-Bishops Epictetus and Auxentius, should also know, that I am at peace and in communion with them. But whoever shall dissent from our peace and concord, which, by the will of God, is esta-

^d Ib. §. 8. 9.

blished throughout the world, let him know that he is separated from our Communion." S. Hilary again subjoins, "Anathema I say to the prevaricator, together with the Arians."

Liberius wrote yet a third letter to Vincentius of Capua, whose fall he had once deplored. "I^e thought that I ought to signify to thy Holiness, that I have retired from that contention on the subject of Athanasius, and have given letters to our brethren and fellow-Bishops, the Easterns, concerning him. But since, by the will of God, you too have peace every where, be so good as to assemble the Bishops of Campania and to convey this to them, and some of your number, together with your letter—write to the most clement Emperor, as to my perfect harmony and peace, that so I may be freed from great sadness. (And in his own hand) I am at peace with all the Eastern Bishops and with you. I have acquitted myself to God; see ye to it; if ye will that I should die in exile, God shall be judge between me and you."

Thus then Liberius was expressly in communion with the whole Arian and Semi-Arian party, in the East and West, even with the worst of the Arians^f; out of communion with all who rejected

^e Ib. §. 10.

^f Of the Arian Bishops whom Liberius writes to or specially recognises, Auxentius was intruded into the see of Milan, from which "Dionysius, a godly man, had been banished for his piety towards Christ" (S. Ath. Ar. Hist. §. 75. p. 286.) S. Athanasius calls Auxentius "pragmatical rather than a Christian, ignorant as yet even of Latin, and unskilful in everything except impiety." (Ib.) Epictetus was "a novice, a bold young man whom George of

the Arians; intreating his own restoration to Rome through the heads of the persecuting Arian party; and promoting in Campania the reception of Arianism and the rejection of S. Athanasius.

The Arian Creed,^g which he signed, S. Hilary calls "Arian perfidy": S. Jerome "heresy"^h or "heretical ⁱpravity." His own words fit in most obviously with the second i. e. that same Arian Creed, which the great Hosius was betrayed into signing.^k Sozomen ^l speaks of Liberius, as, upon his recall from exile, subscribing a formula, compounded of the Creed of the Dedication (which is partly Arian) and the first Sirmian Creed.

"The ^mEmperor sent for him from Berœa," where

Cappadocia made his friend, perceiving that he was ready for any wickedness, and by his means carried on his designs against those of the Bishops whom he designed to ruin." (Ib.) Ursacius and Valens were foremost in every plan against the truth. "They were from the first educated as young men by Arius, though they were formally degraded from the Priesthood, and afterwards got the title of Bishops on account of their impiety." (Lett. to Eg. Lib. §. 7. p. 133.) They had once formally recanted their charges against S. Athanasius and anathematized Arianism. (Ar. Hist. §. 26. p. 239.) then under Constantius they retracted their retractions (Ib. §. 29. p. 242.) and used violence towards the Catholics at Arles, Milan and Sirmium. Liberius had himself instanced Demophilus as one of the extreme Arian party: "The Easterns signify that they wish to be united at peace with us. What peace is that, most clement Emperor, when, on their side, there are four Bishops, Demophilus, Macedonius, Eudoxius, Martyrius who, eight years ago, when at Milan they could not condemn the heretical opinion of Arius, left the Council in anger?" (S Hil. Fragm. v. 4.) Germinius alone of these was a Semi-Arian.

^g Sozomen (iv. 11.) reports a speech of Liberius, even while resisting the Emperor, in which he uses the current Semi-Arian formula. It was on refusing the gold, offered by the Emperor. "To us, Christ Who is 'in all things like to the Father,' is our Nourisher and Provider of all good."

^h de Virr. Ill. l. c.

ⁱ Chron. A. D. 352.

^k Not Blondel only and others, but Petavius also (in Epiphan. p. 336.) thinks that Liberius signed the second Creed. Baronius A. 357. n. 50. holds it to have been the first. Tillemont leans to this.

^l c. Const. §. 11.

^m Soz. iv. 15.

he was banished, “and, when the legates from the East were present, collecting the Bishops who happened to be at the Court, he compelled him to confess that the Son was not of one Substance with the Father.—When they [Basil of Ancyra, Eustathius, Eleusius] had gathered into one writing, what had been decreed against Paul of Samosata and Photinus of Sirmium, and the Creed set forth at the Dedication, (as though under cover of the Homousion some were endeavouring to set up a heresy of their own,) they manage that Liberius and Athanasius, Alexander, Severianus and Crescens, African Bishops should assent to this. In like way there assented Ursacius, Germinius of Sirmium, Valens, Bishop of Mursa, and all present from the East. They received also from Liberius a confession, rejecting those who deny that the Son is like the Father in substance and in all things.”

“The Emperor gave Liberius leave to return to Rome, and the Bishops at Sirmium wrote to Felix, who then presided over the Roman Church, and to the Clergy there, to receive him, and that both should govern the Apostolic See and exercise the sacerdotal office in common.” “I know not,” says S. Hilary^b to Constantius, “in which thou didst most impiously, in banishing or in restoring him.”

The successful ambition of Eudoxius first divided and weakened the Arian party. He was Bishop of Germanicia in Syria, but at court with Constantius in the West. Hearing of the death of Leontius, the

Arian Bishop of Antioch, he obtained leave of the unsuspecting Emperor to return to Syria, on pretence of some needs of his own diocese,ⁿ or of that^o of Antioch. When there, he “possessed^p himself of the Patriarchate of Antioch, neither George Bishop of Laodicea, nor Mark of Arethusa, who were then the most distinguished Bishops of Syria, nor the rest to whom the election belonged, consenting. When then he had gained possession of the Church of Antioch [A. D. 358.] he avowed the Anomœan heresy more openly. And having met in Council at Antioch, with more who held the same, (of whom were Acacius Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine and Uranius Bishop of Tyre) he negatived the word ‘of the same substance,’ together with that ‘of the like substance,’ under pretence that the Bishops of the West had done the same. For Hosius, together with some of the Bishops there, with the view of extinguishing the contentiousness of Valens and Ursacius and Germinius, being constrained at Sirmium, gave way that no mention should be made either of the ‘one substance’ or of ‘the like substance.’ To them therefore, as having succeeded in regard to Hosius, he sent a letter, thanking Valens, Ursacius, and Germinius, as having been the occasion, that those in the West thought aright.”

In the same “Council^q of Bishops, he attempted to restore to the Diaconate,” the wretched “Aetius,” whom Leontius, his Arian predecessor, had been

ⁿ Soz. iv. 12.

^o Socr. ii. 37.

^p Ib.

^q Socr. l. c.

compelled to depose. "This failed, because the hatred to Aetius was greater than the zeal for Eudoxius."

"While ^r Eudoxius was thus innovating, and many of the Church of Antioch who opposed him were cast out, these, receiving the letters of George, Bishop of Laodicea, came to Ancyra of Galatia. For Basil [of Ancyra] was there, at the consecration of a Church which he had built, having invited many of the neighbouring Bishops, to whom he gave the Epistle of George."

The Epistle is addressed to four Semi-Arian Bishops, Macedonius, Basil, Cécropius, [Bishop of Nicomedia] and Eugenius [of Nice]. In it he exhorts them to help against Aetius. "Meeting in one place, as many as may be, ask for subscriptions of the other Bishops, that Eudoxius should cast out Aetius from the Church of Antioch, and cut off his disciples who had been inserted among the Clergy." "The Bishops at Ancyra, when this innovation of Eudoxius had been made plain to them through what he, together with those whom he had met in Council at Antioch, had decreed in writing about the faith, shew this to the king, and beseech him that some care should be taken that what had been adjudged in Sardica, [Philippopolis] Sirmium, and other Synods, should prevail, where it had been agreed that the Son was 'like in substance to the Father.'"

In this step backwards toward the faith they had

^r Soz. iv. 13.

been encouraged by letters from Bishops of France and (it may be) of Britain, who throughout several Provinces remained in communion with S. Hilary, received letters from him, and were only hindered from communication with him, by the uncertainty of his place of exile. To them, about the end of A. D. 358. S. Hilary addressed his book “on Synods, or on the faith of the Easterns.” He inscribes it to his “best-beloved and most blessed brethren and fellow-Bishops, of the Provinces of the first and second Germany, of the first and second Belgium, of the first and second Province of Lyons, of Aquitania, Novempopulania, out of Narbon to the People and Clergy of Thoulouse, and of the Britannic Provinces.”

The book is addressed to the Bishops, with the exception of Thoulouse, whose Bishop, Rhodanius, was, with S. Hilary, in exile for the faith. He tells them, “I^s had frequently, from many cities of the Roman Provinces, signified to you the state of the faith and zeal of our religious brethren, the Bishops of the East”—“I had been in fear lest, in the very great peril to so many Bishops of grievous impiety or error, your silence might arise from the despair of a defiled conscience.” “Now,^t having received the letters of your blessed faith, I learn, that in spirit and faith ye cleave to me, and that ye not only did not receive, but that ye condemn the impiety of

^s §. 1. p. 1149.

^t §. 2.

the faithless faith, announced and made known to you from Sirmium [the second Arian confession of that Synod]. I saw then that it was religious and necessary, that now, as a Bishop, I should transmit to Bishops communicating with me in Christ, an answer, discoursing of saving truth." "Ye ^u have prevailed, Brethren—For the reports of your undisturbed and unshaken faith moved some Bishops of the East, although late, to some shame of the heresy, thence nourished and increased; and, having heard what had been most impiously written at Sirmium, they, by some decrees expressing their belief, contradicted the boldness of the irreligious. And although this their resistance was not unaccompanied with offence and anxiety to the religious, yet they did so resist, as to constrain to an acknowledgment of their ignorance and error, the very persons who then at Sirmium had given way to the opinion of Potamius and Hosius, themselves too thinking and confirming the same; so that they too again subscribing, condemned what they had done."

The Synod of Ancyra was subscribed by twelve Bishops only,^v yet there may have been more, since Eleusius of Cyzicus, who was deputed from the Synod,^w must have been present, and yet did not sign. The Synodical Epistle is addressed from "The ^x holy Synod, assembled from different Provinces at

^u §. 3.^v S. Epiph. Hær. 73 c. 11. fin. p. 859.^w S. Hil. de Syn. §. 90. p. 1203. comp. §. 63. ^x S. Epiph. l. c. c. 2. p. 846.

Ancyra, shortly before Easter, to the most honoured Lords and like-minded fellow-ministers [their colleagues^y] in Phœnicia and the rest who think as we do." "As^z many Bishops assembled as the time permitted, the holy Day of Easter being close upon them, most being also hindered by the winter, as they signified by their letters." The object of the Synod was to defend their own formula, that the Son was "like in substance" to the Father, against Eudoxius who taught that He was "unlike." The Synodical letter closed with eighteen anathemas, of which S. Hilary has translated but twelve, and, since S. Hilary^a suggests that the three "most holy men, Basil, Eustathius and Eleusius," deputed by the Council, suppressed the last anathema against the Homousion, it may be that the others too were never sent. S. Hilary explains and defends the twelve anathemas,^b and says that "if^c there be anything amiss in them, it lurks within, and does not lie on the surface." He sums up; "d We have gone through all the definitions of faith published by the Eastern Bishops which, in a Synod assembled among themselves, they formed against the emerging heresy; few " "e Bishops in proportion to the whole." The deputation turned Constantius,^f who had been shaken by a disciple of Aetius. He wrote to the Church of Antioch, disowning Eudoxius, and (the Arian Philostorgius^g says) "banish-

^y Ib. p. 847.^z l. c.^a l. c. §. 90.^b §. 12-26. p. 1158-66.^c Ib. in p. 1158. not. q.^d c. 27.^e Ib. 28. and 66.^f Soz. iv. 13.^g H. E. iv. 8.

ing seventy persons." Constantius closes his letter, "I^h would exhort those who at last remove from this slough, to join in this sentence, which the Bishops, wise in Divine things, have decided for the best, as need required."

This mood, however, did not last long. Eusebius, the Eunuch and Grand-Chamberlain, who had brought Arianism into theⁱ Palace used his ascendancy. He was the friend of Eudoxius,^k and obtained, shortly after, in favour of the Arians, the division of the Council into two. The Arians joined in urging the Emperor, probably in order to recover the ground, which they had lost to the Semi-Arians through the Synod of Ancyra. Aetius the Sophist, surnamed the Atheist, was made the plea, although no worse than the Arians who threw him over.^l

The success of Constantius against Liberius and Hosius seems to have flushed him with the hope of establishing what he thought a Scriptural faith, but what was in fact a covert for Arianism, on the one hand against the faith as attested by the whole Church at Nicæa, on the other hand against the more plain-spoken heresy of Aetius. His purpose was "to put into shade the Nicene Council," and bring all to one belief, viz. that of Constantius himself; extinguishing at once the belief of the Church and of the most extreme heretics. Constantius^m "wished

^h Soz. iv. 14.

ⁱ Socr. ii. 2.

^k Soz. iv. 16. fin.

^l S. Ath. Counc. Arim. §. 6. p. 81. §. 38. p. 136. O. T. Socr. ii. 35. Soz. iv. 16.

^m S. Ath. Counc. Arim. §. 1. p. 74, 5. O. T.

the Council to be held at Nice," in order to efface the memory of *the* Council of Nice.ⁿ Basil "and the [Semi-Arian] party dissenting from this, it was first determined, that the Bishops should be assembled at Nicomedia in Bithynia, summoning with all speed, for a fixed day, those Bishops in every nation, who seemed to have most understanding and to be the ablest in thought and speech, so that they should take part in the Synod and be present at the decision, in place of all the Bishops of the nation." Nicomedia was almost destroyed by an earthquake; and Basil then wrote to the Emperor agreeing to Nice. "On receiving Basil's letter, the Emperor at first directed that, in the beginning of summer, they should meet at Nice, except those weak in body, and that those might send in their stead Presbyters, or Deacons, whom they should choose to make known their mind, to consult on things doubtful, and that all should be of one mind about all. He directed also that ten from the West, and as many from the East, whom those met in Synod should choose with common consent, should come to the Court, and relate what had been determined, so that he might see whether they had agreed together according to Holy Scripture, and do as should seem best. After this, having taken counsel, he commanded all to remain where they were, or at their own Churches, until a place should be settled for the Synod. And

ⁿ Soz. iv. 16.

he wrote to Basil, to enquire by letter of all the Bishops in the East, where the Synod should be held.—Basil, having prefixed the Imperial letters to his own, made known to the Bishops in each nation, that they should consider with all diligence, and quickly signify the place which would please them.” “When the Synod was urged on, Eudoxius, Acacius, Ursacius, Valens, and their party, considering that the Bishops every where were zealous either for the faith at Nice, or for that of the Dedication, and that, if all should meet together, they would promptly condemn the opinion of Aetius, which they themselves held, obtained that the Westerns should meet at Ariminum and the Easterns at Seleucia in Isauria.”

“The^o Emperor then being persuaded, that it was inexpedient to the State, on account of the expense, and to the Bishops, on account of the length of way, to meet all in one place, divided the Synod, and wrote to those then at Ariminum and Seleucia, first to settle doubts as to the faith, and then, according to the law of the Church, both to decide as to the Bishops, said to have been unjustly deposed or banished,—and to judge as to the charges brought against certain Bishops.” “The^p Synod at Ariminum was first assembled, in which were above four hundred Bishops, brought^q together by the Officials of the Emperor

^o Soz. iv. 17.

^p S. Ath. Connec. Arim. §. 8, 9. p. 82-4. O. T. Soer. ii. 37.

^q Sulpic. Sev. ii. 55.

who were sent throughout Illyricum, Italy, Africa, Spain, and Gaul." Ammianus, the Heathen Historian says,^r that Constantius "fomented the divisions" amongst Christians, "so, that, while troops of Bishops hurried to and fro in the public conveyances to what they call Synods, in their efforts to bring over the whole religion on their side, he hamstrung the Posting-establishments."

The Bishops, while at the Council also, were fed at the public expense.^s The Bishops of Aquitaine, France, Britain, preferred to live at their own cost, except three British Bishops who had no means. The Arian Bishops were not more than eighty. Among the Catholic Bishops, scarcely any of eminence are named. The names of few are preserved. It is not explained why Liberius, Bishop of Rome, was not present. Perhaps he and Vincentius of Capua^t were not invited, as having already subscribed the formula which the Emperor desired.

The Emperor himself addressed a letter to the Bishops, assembled at Ariminum.

"The^u institutions of old lay down, venerable men, that the holiness of the law rests on ecclesiastical matters. We have seen abundantly from letters addressed to our Prudence, that heed must be given to these, inasmuch as this belongs to the office of Bishops, and the well-being of nations far and wide is consolidated

^r Hist. xxi. fin. ^s Sulp. Sev. l. c. ^t Damasus mentions that these two and many others did not consent to the later formula. Ep. in Theod. ii. 22.

^u S. Hil. Fragm. vii. 1.

on this foundation. But circumstances warn us that what has been done should be again.—This being so, let your Piety know that ye ought to consider as to the faith and unity, and give diligence that Ecclesiastical matters should be put in befitting order. Yet this matter must not lead your attention too far. For reason alloweth not, that anything be defined in your Council as to Eastern Bishops. Accordingly, ye ought to treat of those things only, which your Gravity knows to appertain to you ; and having speedily dispatched all things, with common consent send ten to my Court, as we have intimated to your Prudence in former letters.^v For these can answer all things, proposed to them by the Orientals, or treat of the faith, so that every question may be terminated by a competent issue, and ambiguities put to rest. This being so, ye ought to enact nothing against the Orientals, or if in their absence ye will to define ought against them, what ye take upon yourselves, shall come to no effect. For a sentence can have no force, to which our statutes attest beforehand, that all force and competency shall be denied. This being so, ye should, with a moderation suiting the venerable prelates of religion, do what shall be respected, explaining what religion requires, and no one using what it forbids to be heard. The Deity preserve you for many years, dearest Parents.”

The decision at Ariminum was speedily made.

^v lost.

“While ^w the whole assembly was discussing the matter from the Divine Scripture,” Germinius, Ursacius and four other Arian Bishops produced the third Sirmian Creed, and “demanded that the whole Council should acquiesce in it.” “Marvelling at the deceitfulness of their language and their unprincipled intentions, the Bishops said, ‘we have not met here in want of a faith; (for we have in us the faith, and that, sound), but to put to shame those who gainsay the truth and attempt to innovate. If then ye have written this, as now beginning to believe, ye are not yet Clerks, as beginning with your Catechism; but if ye have met us, having the same mind as we, let us all, with one mind, anathematize the heresies, and preserve the teaching of the Fathers; so that pleas for Synods may no longer circulate, the Bishops at Nicæa having anticipated them once for all, and done all for the Catholic Church.’ However, even thus, all the Bishops again agreeing, the aforesaid declined.” On this^x “the Synod directed the Creeds of the heresies and of the Council of Nice to be read, that they might reject the heresies, and confirm what was done at Nice; and that no one should henceforth call any one in question as to those things, or ask for a Synod, but be content with the preceding. Valens and Ursacius, not agreeing hereto, but urging the faith which they had proposed, they deposed, annulling the writing which they had read.”

^w S. Ath. l. c.

^x Soz. l. c.

The Council embodied their decision in three documents, 1. a statement of their adherence to the ancient faith, 2. a condemnation of four leading Arian Bishops of the West, 3. an Epistle to the Emperor.

S. Hilary heads their statement “The^y Catholic definition made by all the Catholic Bishops, before that, terrified by an earthly power, they were associated with the fellowship of heretics, at the Council of Ariminum.”

“We believe that it will please all Catholics, that [we decide that] we ought not to depart from the received Creed, which, in conference, we have ascertained to be held entire by all; and that we will not depart from the faith, which we have received through the Prophets from God the Father through Christ our Lord by the teaching of the Holy Ghost, and in the Gospels and all the Apostles, as, laid down by tradition of the Fathers, according to the Apostolic succession, to the discussion held at Nice against the heresy which had then arisen, it remains until now. To all which, we believe that nothing is to be added, and it is plain that nothing can be diminished from it. It seems good then that nothing new be done; and that the word substance and its truth, conveyed to our minds by many holy Scriptures, should abide in force. Which truth, with its name, the Catholic Church hath been ever wont,

with its deific doctrine, to confess and profess.' This definition all the Catholics, agreeing in one, subscribed."

The condemnation of the heretics was put to the Synod by Grecianus, Bishop of Cagli. He rehearses the forbearance which the Church had shewn towards Ursacius, Valens, Germinius, Caius, Auxentius; the mischief which these did, their heretical spirit, in attempting again to annul the Nicene Creed and to introduce one drawn up by themselves. "Now then," the decree closes, "what seems good to you, again declare, that it may be ratified by the subscription of each.^a All the Bishops answered, 'It seems good that the afore-named heretics should be condemned, that the Church may remain in unshaken faith, which is truly Catholic, and in perpetual peace.'"

"The ^b Catholic Bishops (as the Emperor had required) sent ten Bishops, as legates to the Emperor with an Epistle of sound faith, which they subscribed.^c But the heretical part sent ten legates of their own body." The Epistle began thus; "By the command of God and injunction of your Piety we believe that it has been ordered, that we have met at Ariminum, Bishops from divers Provinces of the West,^d that both the faith of the Catholic Church may be made

^a S. Hil. l. c. §. 4. see S. Ath. l. c. §. 1. p. 87. O. T.

^b Soz. iv. 18. S. Hil. Fragm. viii. 4.

^c S. Hilary's text [Fragm. viii. 3] has been followed, being probably the Latin original.

^d Socr. ii. 37. and Soz. have "from all the Cities of the West."

clear to all, and heretics may be known.—Lest the Churches should be troubled oftener, we determined to maintain the ancient institutions firm and inviolate; and that the aforesaid should be removed from our communion. To inform therefore your Clemency, we have sent our legates, to announce by our letters the judgement of the Council. We have given them this one instruction, that they should discharge this embassy on no other terms, than that the ancient decrees should remain in full force.—We beseech you also to direct, that so many Bishops who are detained at Ariminum, (among whom are very many, distressed through age and poverty) should return to their Provinces, lest the people of the Churches should suffer, deprived of their Bishops.—Our legates will bring you both the subscriptions and names of the Bishops and legates; as they will by another writing^e instruct your holy and pious wisdom.”

The ten legates sent from the Catholics were unhappily ill chosen, “young^f men with little learning or caution; the Arians sent crafty old men, of powerful minds, who readily gained the ascendancy with the Emperor;” and the more because he was aggrieved, that the Council “had^g not received the Creed which had been confirmed in his presence at Sirmium.” He received the Arian legates honorably, and set him-

^e Socr. and Soz. have “who will also teach your Holiness out of the sacred Scriptures themselves.”

^f Sulp. ii. 57.

^g Soz. iv. 19.

self to wear out the Orthodox legates by delays.^h The heretical officers of the Palace aided therein.ⁱ The Council sent a second letter, protesting that they should persevere, and praying to be allowed to return home, before winter set in. "Your Clemency," they say,^k "knows as well as we, how grievous and unsuited it is, that in your most prosperous times so many Churches should be without Bishops." The Emperor still delayed on pretence of the Barbarian war.

"Meanwhile^l the Bishops from the East, being about one hundred and sixty, met at Seleucia in Isauria. Leonas had come with them, a noble Officer in the Palace, who by the command of Constantius was present in the Synod, so that the faith on the doctrine should be framed in his presence. Lauricius too was present, Chief of the soldiers in the Province, to render aid to the Bishops in case of need." The Council met on Sept. 27. Arianism was here at strife with Semi-Arianism. S. Hilary was present at the Council, "being^m now in his fourth year of exile in Phrygia. The officers being charged to bring all Bishops to the Council, required his presence too, and gave him part in the public conveyance." S. Hilary cleared himself and the Gallican Churches of the charge of Sabellianism, which the Arians had given out against them and all the Catholics. He was then admitted to take part in

^h Ib. S. Hil. Fragm. viii. 4. Theod. ii. 19.

ⁱ Theod. l. c.

^k Id. ii. 20.

^l Socr. ii. 39. Soz. iv. 22.

^m Sulp. ii. 58.

the Council. “At ⁿ the first secession,” he says, “I found that one hundred and five Bishops in it taught the Homoiousion i. e. the likeness of substance ; nineteen the Anomoiousion, i. e. the unlikeness of substance ; and the Egyptians only, except the heretic [George] of Alexandria, most firmly maintained the Homooousion.” The pure Arian party had been ordained by Secundus who had been deposed by the great Council, and with these, the Acacians fearing to meet their accusers, coalesced. In all, they became thirty-four.^p In the first session, some other Bishops, as also Patrophilus, Bishop of Scythopolis, Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, and Basil Bishop of Ancyra, suspecting that they should be accused, were wanting. When on account of their absence the others declined to examine the points in question, Leonas bade them still raise the question. Thence, some wished first to examine the doctrine, others, the lives of the accused among themselves.—When they came to the question of faith, some wished wholly to efface the name of “substance,” putting forth the faith, which, not long before, Marcus had composed at Sirmium,^q and which the [Bishops] who happened to be at the Court, received ; with whom was Basil Bishop of Ancyra. But the more part were eager for the faith set forth at the dedication of the Church at Antioch.—After much contention Sil-

ⁿ c. Const. §. 12.^o S. Ath. Conc. Arim. §. 12.^p Socr. ii. 39.^q The Creed of the Consulate. The third Sirmian.

vanus Bishop of Tarsus, said that it was not to be endured that a new formula should be introduced, besides that approved at Antioch ; that this alone should prevail. The Acacians, vexed at this, departed ; the rest, at that time, read what had been decreed at Antioch ; on the following day, having assembled in the Church, they closed the doors and being by themselves [i. e. without the Acacian Bishops] they confirmed those decrees."

The intervention of Leonas and Lauricius shews more vividly *what* was the power of the Emperor's representatives. Leonas was an Acacian, and he did all he could. The Semi-Arian Bishops were apparently afraid either of his influence or of the dissolution of the Council. Acacius, discontented with what the other Bishops had done, " shewed ^rprivately to Leonas and Lauricius, the formula about which he was eager. Acacius and his party would take no part in the session, unless those whom they had deprived and accused left it. This was done. For those on the other side conceded it, suspecting that Acacius was looking for a pretext to dissolve the Council. When they were all present, Leonas said, that he had a book, given him by the friends of Acacius. It was a confession of faith with a sort of preface. The rest knew nothing of this : for Leonas purposely hid it, being an Acacian. When it was

^r c. 22. The whole formula with the names of the Bishops who subscribed is preserved by S. Epiph. Hær. 73. §. 25, 6. The Creed is given more correctly by S. Athanasius. Counc. Sel. §. 29. p. 123. 4. O. T.

read, the Synod was full of confusion. For it set forth, that whereas the Emperor had commanded that nothing should be introduced into the faith, besides the Holy Scriptures, certain persons, introducing from different Provinces Bishops deposed or unlawfully made, disturbed the Council, insulting some, and silencing others ; that themselves, the Acacians, did not reject the Creed set forth at Antioch, although those then assembled had introduced it to meet a question then arising." Then setting aside the "of one substance" and "of like substance" as alien to the Scriptures, and anathematizing "unlike," they "subjoined a form, which might be signed by Arians or Aetians," omitting the most orthodox expressions of the Creed of Antioch. "Acacius and his followers subscribed this." After some discussion, Eleusius of Cyzicus concluded by saying, "we must follow that faith which was confirmed at Antioch by those older ninety seven Bishops ; and if any one bring in aught contrary to this, he is an alien to piety and the Church. But when all those with him approved this, the Synod parted. On the following day, the party of Acacius and George would not again meet [in the Council.] Leonas also, although invited, declined," saying that he was "sent^s by the Emperor to be present at a harmonious Council ; but since some are at variance, I, he said, cannot come. Go then and babble in the Church." The other Bishops then summoned

^s Socr. ii. 40.

the Acacians, to judge the cause of Cyril Bishop of Jerusalem. This cause is remarked as the first case in which a Bishop, although wrongfully deposed by a rightful authority, had appealed to a larger Council. Acacius, as an Arian, was opposed to S. Cyril, who, although using only the ambiguous formula, "like in all things to the Father," was sound in his belief. "Acacius^t then, with those Bishops of the Province who were likeminded with himself, deposed Cyril on the plea, that in a famine, when the hungry multitude, in want of necessaries, looked to the Bishop, he, having no money wherewith to succour them, sold the sacred treasures and the hangings." S. Cyril "sent^u to his deponents a writ removing his cause, appealing to a greater Council. This appeal Constantius favoured." "The Bishops called in Acacius and his friends to decide with them as to the accused. But when these, being frequently called, came not, they deposed Acacius himself and eight other Bishops, and they excommunicated Asterius and eight others, prescribing that they should so remain, until they should defend and clear themselves from the charge." S. Cyril was restored then, for he was deposed anew by the Acacians at Constantinople.

The representative of the Emperor could even introduce things to the Council; he could threaten, (as at Ariminum) with banishment, but he could have no

^t Soz. iv. 25.

^u Soer. l. c.

voice in the Council; he could withdraw, but did not dissolve it, nor hinder its Ecclesiastical acts.

The Council of Seleucia then closed. "The condemned [Acacians] flew to their King." The Council of Seleucia sent, as it had been required, its ten delegates to Constantius.

Shortly after this, Oct. 10. A. D. 359.^v Constantius wore out or over-bore the ten Bishops, delegated from the Council of Ariminum. This took place at Ustodizo near Nice in Thrace, and the conference there held was craftily called the Council of Nice. The Creed employed to mislead the Westerns, was framed by the Arian minority from the two Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia.

"The ^w Ursacians went to Nice, a City of Thrace, and there made another Council. They translate into Greek the Creed which was read at Ariminum, publish and confirm it." It was the Creed of the Consulate; but besides disclaiming the word "substance," a clause was added at Constantinople by the Arian Bishops delegated from Seleucia, disclaiming the word "Hypostasis" also.^x It closed by "anathematising all the heresies hitherto condemned, or whatever have sprung up recently, contrary to this Creed." "They^y gave out a report that the Creed at Nice was approved by the Œcumenical Synod," wishing to deceive the simple by the ambi-

^v S. Iil. Fragm. viii. 4. p. 1346, 7.

^w Soer. ii. 37. fin. Soz. iv. 19.

^x see S. Ath. Coun. Arim. §. 30. comp. §. 8. Theod. ii. 21.

^y Soer. and Soz. l. c.

guity of the name of Nice. Theodoret says, that the Arians “brought^z to Nice most of the Bishops against their will, and persuaded some in simplicity, some through fear, to complete the plan which they had devised against the Faith.” The Acts still exist.^a They rehearse, “When the Bishops had assembled in Council at a lodging at Nice, called formerly *Ustodizo*, viz. *Restitutus* and thirteen other Catholic Bishops, *Restitutus* Bishop of Carthage said, ‘Your Prudence knows, most holy fellow-Bishops, that when the Faith was treated of at *Ariminum*, the contention made such division, that there was disunion, suggested by the devil, as to the Priests [Bishops] of God, whence I, *Restitutus* and part of the Bishops who followed me, gave sentence against *Ursacius*, *Valens*, *Germinius* and *Gaius*, as authors of a corruption of the faith, i. e. we separated them from our Communion. But since, in conference with them, we have discussed every thing, and have found (what ought to displease none) that they held the Catholic Faith according to the Confession which we too have subscribed, and never were heretics, therefore, inasmuch as peace and concord are highly esteemed by God, it seemed good, by common consent of us all, to cancel every thing done at *Ariminum* and restore all to Communion. We, then, being present, ought, each of us, to say whether what I have dwelt upon, is right, and to subscribe it with his own hand.’ All

^z l. c.

^a S. Hil. l. c. Conc. T. ii. p. 913.

the Bishops said, 'It seems good,' and subscribed." "The Bishops," says S. Ambrose,^b "had first written a pure Creed; but when some willed to judge of the faith at Court, the result was that, through circumvention, those judgments of the Bishops were changed."

The Emperor pushed his advantage. "The^c legates being then let go, [Taurus] had orders not to allow the Synod [at Ariminum] to depart, till all should declare by their subscriptions that they agreed to the Creed which had been framed. Recusants, if fewer than fifteen, were to be banished. The legates however, on their return [to Ariminum] were refused communion, although they pleaded compulsion on the part of the King. When the decision itself was known, the perplexity was still greater. Then, by degrees, several of our's were prevailed upon, partly through weakness of intellect, partly through weariness at their absence from home, and gave themselves up to the adversaries.—Minds having been once unsettled, they went over in crowds to the other side; till our people were reduced to twenty. But these were strong in proportion to their fewness; and of these, our Phœbadius and Servatio, Bishop of Tongres, were considered the most steadfast. These, since they yielded not to threats and terrors, Taurus assails with entreaties, and adjures them, with tears, to take milder measures. 'The Bishops were now passing their seventh month,

^b Ep. 21. ad Valentinian. §. 15.

^c Sulp. ii. 59, 60.

immured in one city. Worn out as they were with the severity of winter and with want, no hope of return was given them. And what would be the end? Let them follow the example of the many; let them at least find authority in numbers.' Phœbadius however declared that he was prepared for exile and for any tortures he might be called to, but that he would not accept a Creed framed by Arians. Some days were spent in this strife, and little progress was made towards peace, when by degrees he too was weakened and at last overcome by the conditions offered him. Valens and Ursacius declared, 'that the Creed in question being conceived in the Catholic sense, and put forth by the Orientals at the instance of the Emperor, could not be rejected without sin; for what end would there be of their differences, if what pleased the Orientals, displeased those of the West? Then too if they thought anything not stated fully enough in the present Creed, they might themselves add what they thought required adding; and that they [Valens and Ursacius] would assent to what they should add.' This plausible profession was received by all, now bowed down, nor did ours venture any more to refuse, desiring at all hazards to finish the business. Next, confessions were put forth, composed by Phœbadius and Servatio, wherein first of all Arius was condemned, and all his misbelief, and the Son of God was declared, not indeed to be Equal with the Father, but to be without beginning, without time. Then Valens, as if helping our's, added a sentence, wherein was hid-

den guile, ‘that the Son of God was not a creature, like other creatures’; and the craftiness of the confession deceived the hearers. For in these words, wherein the Son was denied to be like other creatures, He was yet asserted to be a creature, only superior to the rest. Thus neither party could consider itself as either wholly victorious or wholly vanquished; since the Creed favored the Arians, the confessions afterwards^d added, made for us, except that which Valens subjoined, which was not understood at the time, being noticed only when too late. The Council was then dismissed, having had a good beginning, and a foul close.”

S. Jerome^e has preserved, out of the Acts themselves, some of the details of these Anathemas, and the form of proceeding. The People suspected treachery,—so “Valens who had framed [the clause excluding the word Substance] professed in the presence of Taurus, Prefect of the Prætorium, that he was no Arian, but altogether abhorred their blasphemy. This, being a private transaction, did not allay the suspicions of the People.” The People then were present, since the very object was to lull their fears; but the whole was done by the Bishops. “On a second day in the Church at Ariminum, crowds both of Bishops and laymen coming together, Muzonius, Bishop of the Province of Byzacene, to whom for his age all gave the precedence, thus

^d i. e. the anathemas see p. 197. and 199.

^e adv. Lucif. c. 18.

spake; 'What has been published abroad and brought to our knowledge, we enjoin that one of our body should read to your holinesses, that all may with one voice condemn, what, being evil, ought to be alien from our ears and heart. All the Bishops answered, 'Good.' When then Claudius, Bishop of the Province of Picenum, had, as directed, begun to read blasphemies attributed to Valens, he, denying that they were his, cried aloud, 'If any one deny that Christ the Lord, the Son of God, was begotten of the Father before the worlds, let him be anathema.' All re-echoed, 'Let him be anathema.' Valens. 'If any one deny the Son to be like the Father according to the Scriptures, let him be anathema.' All answered, 'Let him be anathema.' V. 'If any say that the Son of God is not eternal with the Father, let him be anathema.' All cried out together, 'Let him be anathema.' V. 'If any say that the Son of God is a creature, such as the other creatures, let him be anathema.' It was said as before, 'Let him be anathema.' V. 'If any say that the Son was of things not-existing, and not of God the Father, let him be anathema.' All cried out together, 'Let him be anathema.' V. 'If any say, time was, when the Son was not, let him be anathema.' Here all the Bishops and the whole Church together, received these words of Valens with a sort of jubilee of joy and applause." "If any one suspect," subjoins S. Jerome, "that I have invented this, let him consult the public records. The chests of the Churches are

full, and the thing is still of recent date. Some, present at that Synod, are still living, and the Arians themselves do not deny that all this took place as I have said. When then all were praising Valens to the skies, and condemning themselves and repenting that they had suspected, the same Claudius, who had begun to read [the charges] said, ‘There are yet a few things which have escaped my lord and brother Valens, which, if you please, lest any scruple remain, let us condemn in common; ‘If any say that the Son of God is indeed before all ages, but not before all time altogether, so as to place any thing prior to Him, let him be anathema.’ All said ‘Let him be anathema.’ Many other things too which seemed suspicious, Valens condemned, in the words of Claudius. If any wish to know more fully of this, he will find it in the Acts of the Synod of Ariminum, whence I too have drawn this.”

“This^f being so done, the Council was dissolved. All [the Bishops] return to their Provinces, full of joy. For the king and all good people had one anxiety, that East and West should be united in one bond of communion.”

The Creed to which the Bishops at Ariminum thus assented, had, on the surface, S. Jerome^g remarks, nothing unsound. “It was entire faith to confess, that the Son of God was God of God. And they said ‘that the Only Begotten was Born Only from the

^f 1b. §. 19.

^g 1. c. §. 17.

Only Father.' What means 'born'? Certainly not 'made.' The mention of the 'Birth' excluded all suspicion [that he was thought to be] a creature.—As to the rejection of the word 'Substance,' the reason assigned was plausible. The Bishops were not anxious about a word, if the meaning was secure."

The error of the Bishops of Ariminum was that, to unite the Church, as they hoped, they consented to abandon a word which had been found to be, beyond all others, *the* barrier against heresy. "Under the plea of unity and faith, faithlessness," says S. Jerome, "was framed, as is *now* acknowledged. For *then* nothing seemed so pious or becoming to a servant of God, as to follow unity, and not to be separated from the Communion of the whole world." The Bishops also inadvertently allowed Valens to anathematize his own heresy in his own way. His heresy was, that he accounted our Lord to be a creature like all other creatures" i. e. in *being* a creature. Valens anathematized this; probably in the sense, that our Lord was not like them, *in so far* as He was superior to them. The Bishops then understood Valens to anathematize the very heresy, which was contained by implication in his own anathema. They thought that he anathematized the heresy that our Lord was a creature; he, by anathematizing the belief, that He was a creature *like* other creatures, implied that He was a creature. "The^h wound ill healed, while the pus remain-

^h Ib. §. 18.

ed, burst out anew. Valens and Ursacius began to boast, that they had not denied that the Son was a creature, but only that He was like all other creatures. Then the name 'substance' was abolished; the condemnation of the Nicene Faith was carried. The whole world groaned, and marvelled that it was Arian." The belief of the West was sound; it had been entrapped into sanctioning what, in its legitimate implication, was unsound.

Meanwhile, in the East, the strife between pure Arianism and Semi-Arianism had been removed from Seleucia to Constantinople. At first it was carried on by the ten Bishops delegated on either side from Seleucia. Acacius stirred up the Emperor by accusations against S. Cyril of Jerusalem, and the Semi-Arians as connected with him. "Theⁱ Courtiers persuaded the Emperor not to assemble the whole Synod; (for they feared that the whole number would be united against them) but only the ten chief." Even thus, Eleusius, Bishop of Cyzicus, compelled Eudoxius first to condemn Aetius, and then his own belief. Sylvanus, Bishop of Tarsus, then constrained him to anathematize the Arian formulæ. Both of these abandoned Semi-Arianism, confessed the Nicene Faith, and were banished by the Emperor.

The Arians, having imposed upon the Bishops of Ariminum, contrived that they should be nominated as its legates to the Emperor. Ursacius and Valens

ⁱ Theod. ii. 27.

appear at the head. The Semi-Arians in ignorance apparently of their character, warned ^k them against the supporters of Aetius, saying “that ^lthe man had been condemned, rather than his doctrine.” The legates, however, forthwith communicated ^m with the Acacians, and explained away blasphemously all the doctrine ⁿ of the Creed which they had induced the Bishops at Ariminum to sign. And yet they ventured to practise upon the delegates from Seleucia, the same fraud which had succeeded at Ariminum. “They ^o made oath, that they did not believe the Son to be unlike in Substance to the Father.—The Emperor pressed the Bishops to accept the Creed published at Ariminum, and although he had to attend the next day (Jan. 1. A. D. 360.) in the Consular procession, he spent the whole day and much of the night, discussing with the Bishops, until they too subscribed the Creed.” Sulpicius states ^p that violence, exile, and terror were employed here as well as at Ariminum.

“The Arians then, matters flowing but too smoothly in accordance with their wishes, flock to Constantinople to the Emperor : there, by royal authority they compel the legates of the Synod of Seleucia, whom they found there, to accept, after the example of the Westerns, that unsound Creed. Several refusing, harassed by grievous imprisonment and starvation, yielded up their conscience. Many perse-

^k S. Hil. Fragm. x.

^l Epist. Orient. Episc. legat. ab Arim. Ib. §. 1.

^m S. Hil. l. c. §. 2.

ⁿ Ib. §. 3. p. 1351, 2.

^o Soz. iv. 23.

^p ii. 60.

veringly resisting, were driven into exile, with the loss of their Sees, and others put in their place. The best Bishops being thus intimidated or banished, all gave in to the treachery of a few. Hilary was there, having followed the legates from Seleucia, there being no definite commands respecting him, awaiting the will of the Emperor, if haply he should be ordered to return to exile. He, when he saw the exceeding peril of the Faith, (the Westerns being deceived, and the Orientals overpowered through wickedness,) demanded an audience^a of the king, to dispute concerning the faith before the adversaries. This the Arians strenuously refused. Finally, as the seed-plot of discord and disturber of the East, he is ordered to return to Gaul, without remission of exile." God, who through the injustice of man, had brought him into the East to bear witness to the Faith of the West, carried him back into the West, through that same injustice of Constantius, in readiness for what He had for him to do, upon the death of Constantius which was so soon to follow.

The Acacians^r meanwhile pursued their victory. "Remaining at Constantinople, they made another Council, sending for the Bishops from Bithynia. These, being in all fifty, (and among them, Maris of Chalcedon) confirm the faith read at Ariminum," having^s added, that henceforth neither Substance nor

^a Sulpicius says "in three treatises." S. Jerome (de Virr. Ill. c. 100.) mentions only one, which is the ad Constantium L. ii. ; in which alone, of the three treatises directed to, or against Constantius, S. Hilary asks for an audience.

^r Socr. ii. 41. Soz. iv. 24, 25.

^s S. Hil. c. Const. §. 15.

Hypostasis should be spoken of as to God ; and that besides this writing (Creed) every other, past or future, is condemned. Having done this, they deposed not only Aetius, but also Basil, Eleusius, Sylvanus, and other Semi-Arian Bishops, and S. Cyril, not on any plea of faith, but on divers Ecclesiastical and personal charges.

“The ^t Emperor required that Aetius should be condemned in writing. The partakers of his impiety condemned him, their confederate. They wrote to George, the [Arian] Bishop of Alexandria,” a Synodical letter, announcing the deposition of Aetius, who had been his deacon. “Aetius,” having been condemned by the Synod for his wicked and scandalous writings, the Bishops did to him what was agreeable to the Ecclesiastical Canons. For he was deposed from the Diaconate and cast out of the Church. We have also subjoined admonitions, that his Epistles should not be even read, but cast aside as unprofitable and useless. We add that if he abide in the same purpose, he, with his followers, is anathematized. Consistently, all the Bishops who met in the Synod ought in common to have expressed their abhorrence of the author of the scandals, confusions, schisms, and tumult throughout the world, and division of the Churches, and to have agreed in the sentence against him.” The Synod goes on to detail how Serras and others of their number ^v held out ; that the Synod was obliged to prefer the

^t Theod. ii. 27.

^u Id. ii. 28.

^v Soz. l. c. says, “ten.”

Canon of the Church to the friendship of men, and to give them six months, within which, if they did not accept what was decreed, they should lose their Episcopal dignity, and others be placed in their stead by "the Bishops of the Nation. Meanwhile they were to abide by themselves, without ministering, or governing their diocese, until they should subscribe. These things having been deliberated and completed by them, they write to the Bishops and Church everywhere to keep and perform them."

Some of the Bishops who refused to subscribe were Libyan Bishops, who had been intruded by Secundus. They were less hypocrites than the rest, yet as conscious blasphemers. Serras bore witness, that "Actius affirmed that God had revealed to him what had been hidden from the Apostles till then."

The Synod of Constantinople, as its last act, translated Eudoxius to a third See, Constantinople ; having just deposed Dracontius on the ground that he had been once translated.^w Hereby, however, it made room for an Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, after a thirty years' succession of Arians. The great S. Meletius was made Patriarch of Antioch in a large Synod, A. D. 360. He had been consecrated Bishop of Sebastia by Arian Bishops ;^x and now both the Arians and the Orthodox combined in selecting him, the Arians because they thought him an Arian, the Orthodox for his "soundness of doctrine and holiness of life." "The^y

^w Socr. ii. 43.^x Soz. iv. 24. Theod. ii. 31.^y Id. Ib.

Bishops who were then come together (and they were many collected from all sides), said that a shepherd must first be set over the flock, and then, in common with him, they must consult about the doctrines.”

The Orthodox “provided that the decree as to his election was written and subscribed by all [the Bishops] with the very greatest care. Both parties gave it as a joint compact to Eusebius Bishop of Samosata to keep.

In the following year, Meletius was banished as if a Sabellian ; and “the^z Emperor, sending for the Arian Euzoius, and commanding the Bishops to lay hands on him, made him Bishop of Antioch.” This doubtless took place in a distinct Synod of Antioch. “Constantius, having renewed the truce with the Persians,” was there. He “again assembled the Bishops, compelling all to deny both of ‘the one Substance,’ and ‘of a different Substance.’” At this same Synod, the Acacians threw off the mask, and endeavoured to establish Arianism in its most offensive form. “The Acacians^a could not be quiet ; but meeting at Antioch with some few, censured what they had themselves decreed, and settled to cut the word ‘Like’ out of the Creed read at Ariminum and Constantinople, and that the Son was in all things, Substance and Will, unlike the Father, and thought that He was of things which were not, as Arius did from the first.—At the end when they could not answer those who censured or re-

^z Philostg. v. 5. ^a Soz. iv. 29. see S. Ath. Counc. Arim. §. 31. p. 126.

proached them, having again read the Faith approved at Constantinople, they dissolved and departed to their own cities."

If Philostorgius^b is to be believed, Constantius was referring the charge of Acacius against Eunomius "to a larger Synod," when "news came of the revolt of Julian. He immediately set off for Constantinople, and at the same time appointed a Synod at Nice, to settle the, 'of a different Substance.'" He^c caught a slight fever at Tarsus, thought to shake it off by travelling, was taken worse at Mopsocrenæ, was baptised there by Euzoius, and when not much beyond middle life, "parted with his kingdom and his life," says the Arian Philostorgius, "and his Synods in behalf of ungodliness." Both Theodoret and S. Gregory of Nazianzum, agree in speaking of Constantius' death-bed repentance, that he rescinded in will the miserable successes of twenty-five years, and the object of his life. "Constantius^d departed life, groaning and grieving that he had turned aside from the faith of his fathers." "He^e repented at his last breath, when for the judgment seat beyond, men are unbiassed judges of themselves." "It is said that he owned these three evils—the death of his kinsman, his nomination of the

^b vi. 4, 5.

^c Amm. Marc. xxi. 15.

^d Theod. iii. 1.

^e S. Greg. Naz. Orat. xxi. 26. This miracle of mercy would be the less unlikely, if, as Socrates (ii. ult.) places it, his baptism by Euzoius was in health, before he set out; and this may be the more probable, because Euzoius was at Antioch, and is not likely to have attended a hasty march. It might be yet more likely, if he had been deceived by those about him. S. Athanasius, the better authority, places his baptism at the point of death. (l. c.)

Apostate, and his innovations in faith, and that with these words he expired."

The constraint which Constantius used towards the Bishops in the Synods, was rather personal than organic. He was the instrument of the Evil one, in procuring the fall and disgrace of eminent Bishops; he tarnished the memories of Vincentius, Liberius, and the great Hosius, as also, in their degrees, of those whom the Church afterwards recognised to be Saints, S. Phœbadins and S. Servatius. He left a lasting blot upon Councils, so that the Council of Ariminum became a byword. He embarrassed for some time the defenders of the Faith, who had to show, how the reception of the Council of Nice by the whole Church gave it a weight which was not due to the large and exaggerated numbers of the Council of Ariminum. Immediately also he weakened the influence of some Bishops who had defended the truth, banished others, and re-placed them by heretics.

The three great Sees of the East, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, were ruled by leaders of heresy, as were Cæsarea, Chalcedon, Laodicea, Ancyra, Tarsus, Tyre, Nicomedia, Milan, Sirmium, and so many others. The Bishop of Rome, Liberius (whenever he may have personally recovered), was disgraced in the sixth year of his Episcopate, and, whereas, before his fall, he was an energetic defender of the truth, he thenceforth, in those critical times, originated nothing for the well-being of the Church, and his name appears

twice only in the nine remaining years of his life. A. D. 358-367.

We have seen Hosius, the President at Nice and Sardica, excluded from the communion of others. The same confusion took place widely in smaller or less important dioceses. The Council of Constantinople did not subscribe, but “ through ^f ambiguous words, it opened the doors to heresy ; its plea being reverence for Scripture and the use of sanctioned ^g words ; its truth, that it substituted an unscriptural Arianism. Some [Bishops] were unjustly expelled from their Sees ; others substituted, but of these the subscription to impiety [the new Creed] was required, as much as any essential—the ink was at hand, as was also the informer. To this the most of our’s, otherwise invincible, gave way, not falling in heart, yet mispersuaded to subscribe. Except a very few, either overlooked for their littleness, or nobly resisting, who were to be left to Israel as a seed and root, that it might flourish again and revive through the influxes of the Holy Spirit, all yielded to the times, only some sooner, some later—either shaken by fear, or enslaved by need, or allured by flattery, or (the least fault) deceived through ignorance.

The confusion was exceeding great, when the chief teachers of the Church had failed ; but the more part had failed through timidity, which laid them open to be deceived, choosing what an instinctive courage of

^f S. Greg. Naz. Orat. xxi. de laude S. Ath. §. 22. 24.

^g i. e. by Holy Scripture.

faith would have seen to be perilous. They did not abandon the faith itself. And so they more quickly recovered, like S. Peter after his fall, and the evil spread the less. As soon as they discovered the error, "some^h retired within their own communion; some began to send letters to those Confessors who were in exile on account of Athanasius; some mourned over the communion [with the Arians] into which they had, in despair, entered. Few, (as is the wont of human nature) deliberately defended their error."

The early death of Constantius, A. D. 361, aged 45, set the Church free, in that the orthodox Bishops could return from banishment. Julian the Apostate was, against or beside his will, in two ways the instrument of God. The great officers of the Court who had been the enemies of the truth, had also been the enemies of his brother Gallus; those of the Palace, "wereⁱ a nursery of all vices." And so he banished some, and among them Taurus, who had gained his Consulate by his craft at Ariminum. Eusebius the tempter of Liberius, who had brought about the division of the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia, was, for his other crimes, put to death. Julian, as a heathen saw that division was the weakness of Christians, and he hoped to favor the restoration of Paganism, and foment the division of Christians by recalling Bishops who had been banished for the faith. A heathen his-

^h S. Jerome adv. Luc. l. c.

ⁱ Ammian. xxii. 3. 4.

torian states this to have been his object. “To^k increase the effect of his arrangements [for restoring Pagan worship] he brought into the Palace the Bishops of the Christians, who, with the divided people, were at variance, and courteously admonished them that, laying their discords to rest, each should fearlessly serve his own religion, no man forbidding. This he did determinately to the end that, the dissensions being increased by this licence, he might not thereafter have against him an unanimous people.” He could not, as a heathen, see that the Church must gain by the restoration of her Bishops, especially such as S. Athanasius, S. Hilary, and S. Eusebius of Vercellæ. “All¹ the Bishops, who had been expelled from their Sees, through permission of the new Prince, return to their Churches. Then Egypt received in triumph her own Athanasius; then the Church of Gaul embraced Hilary returning from battle; then, at the return of Eusebius, Italy laid aside her mourning garments. The Bishops who, taken in the toils of Ariminum, were reputed heretics without consciousness of heresy, hastened together, protesting by the Body of the Lord, and whatever in the Church is holy, that they suspected nothing amiss in their Creed. ‘We thought,’ they said, ‘that the sense agreed with the words, and feared not that in the Church of Christ where is simplicity and purity of confession, one thing should be hid in the heart, another uttered by the

^k 1b. 5.¹ S. Jer. l. c.

lips. We were deceived by our good opinion of the bad. We did not think that Bishops of Christ were fighting against Christ.' Many other things, which I omit for brevity, they asserted weeping, being ready to condemn both their former subscription and all the blasphemies of the Arians."

This (as appears from S. Jerome's own word^m) took place in Councils. S. Ambroseⁿ says, that the Bishops "immediately recalled their judgment." "The ° Epistle to Constantius attests their confession; subsequent Councils confess their correction." Liberius^p and Damasus,^q both in Synodical Epistles, attest the same. The question was still raised whether those Bishops should be deposed. "I would ask those over-religious people," says S. Jerome,^r "what they think that the Confessors [S. Athanasius, S. Hilary, and S. Eusebius of Vercellæ], ought to have done—Depose the old Bishops, and ordain new? It was attempted. But how few, who have a good conscience, allow themselves to be deposed! Especially when all the people, loving their Bishops, almost flew to take up stones, and kill those who would depose them."

Healing measures then were begun at once in Alexandria and Paris. Eusebius and Lucifer were both in banishment for the faith near Egypt.^s Eusebius then "entreated Lucifer to go with him to Alexandria to see Athanasius and consulting in common

^m Concurrabant. ⁿ Ep. 21. ad. Valentinian. §. 15. ° Id. de fide i. 18. §. 122.

^p In Socr. iv. 12. ^q In Theod. ii. 22. ^r l. c. ^s Ruf. H. E. i. 27.

with the surviving Bishops, form a decree on the state of the Church. Lucifer refused to be present, but sent his deacon as legate, himself hurrying eagerly to Antioch." "Eusebius^t then came" alone "to Alexandria, and there, together with Athanasius, with all speed convened a Synod. The Bishops came together from different cities, and laid open their minds on very many important matters."

"After^u the return of the Confessors, it was settled in the Council of Alexandria, [A. D. 362.] that, except the authors of heresy, for whom error could not be pleaded, those who repented should be joined to the Church ; not as though those who had been heretics could be Bishops, but that those who were received were acknowledged not to have been heretics. The West assented to this decision, and by this so necessary counsel the world was rescued out of the jaws of Satan." The Synodical Epistle runs, "Athanasius^v and the Bishops who were at Alexandria from Italy and Arabia, Egypt and Lybia, Eusebius, Asterius, (and sixteen others named) and the rest, to our beloved and much longed-for fellow Bishops Eusebius [of Vercellæ], Lucifer [of Cagliari], Asterius [of Petra in Arabia], Cymatius [of Paltus in Cœle-Syria], Anatolius [of Eubœa]." The immediate object of the Council was to reconcile the disturbances in the Church of Antioch, which was divided between the Eustathians, or the old Orthodox party,

^t Soer. iii. 7. ^u S. Jer. l. c. § 20. ^v S. Ath. Tom. ad Antioch. T. i. p. 770.

who, after the death of Eustathius, were held together by Paulinus a Presbyter, the Orthodox adherents of S. Meletius, and the Arians under Euzoius. The Council desired to unite the two Orthodox parties, and all who should return from Arianism. Those who returned were to be required only to confess the "Faith confessed by the holy Fathers at Nice,"^w and anathematize the heresy of the Arians, such as said that the Holy Ghost was a creature and severed from the Substance of Christ; the impiety of Sabellius and Paul of Samosata, the madness of Valentinus and Basilides, and the phrenzy of the Manichees." The Council reconciled those who were at variance, in that the one used the word "Hypostasis," of "Person;" the other of the "Substance." It rejected the alleged additions of the Council of Sardica as spurious. It condemned also the nascent heresy of Apollinarius in clear doctrinal language, to which the monks^x who probably represented Apollinarius, assented. It concluded with an exhortation to peace. It was subscribed by "Athanasius, and the other Bishops present; two Deacons sent by Lucifer Bishop of Sardinia, and two other Deacons from Paulinus [of Antioch]. Eusebius and Asterius, who with Lucifer, Cymatius and Anatolius were to act upon the Epistle, also subscribe it, as being pre-

^w Id. Ib. §. 3, 4. p. 772.

^x Baronius' copy of S. Athanasius, had the additional clause "There were present also some Monks of Apollinarius the Bishop, sent for this end." (ad. A. D. 362. §. 203.) The Benedictines have it not.

sent, and express separately their adhesion to its principles. The Bishops present had mostly been banished for the faith under Constantius. They were the representatives of many more; for they speak of themselves, as “those ^ywho are left at Alexandria, together with our fellow-ministers, Eusebius and Asterius. For the most of us have *gone away* to their dioceses.” They then *had* been present, and so had taken part in the deliberations; but had “gone away” before the “tome” was drawn up. Rufinus adds, “when ^zthen that Sacerdotal and Apostolic order had approved this judgment given by the authority of the Gospel, the care of the East was by decree of the Council enjoined on Asterius and the rest who were with; him that of the West, on Eusebius.”

The immediate object of the Council was defeated by the precipitancy of Lucifer, who probably anticipated its results, and hurried to Antioch, sending legates only to the Council. He perpetuated the schism by consecrating, with two others, Paulinus as a rival Bishop to S. Meletius, retired after awhile to Sardinia, and died nine years after, A. D. 371. the author of a small schism, in the same year in which Eusebius died as a Saint.^a

The schism at Antioch being just healing, Eusebius left it and “went^b round the East and Italy, discharging at once the office of physician and priest. He

^y S. Ath. J. c. §. 9.

^a S. Jerom. Chron. A. D. 374.

^z H. E. i. 29.

^b Ruf. i. 30.

brought back the several Churches, (having abjured faithlessness,) to the soundness of a right faith, especially when he found Hilary, (who with the other Bishops had been driven into exile) now returned and in Italy, essaying to bring about the same, in restoring the Churches and the faith of the fathers.”

S. Athanasius himself sent his Synodical letter to different Churches. S. Basil pleads to the Presbyters of Neo-Cæsarea, that he had received it, and acted upon it. “^cWhen I had received the letter of the most blessed father Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, which I have by me, and which I shew to those who ask, in which he pronounced explicitly, that if any wished to leave the Arian heresy, confessing the faith of Nice, he should, without any question, be admitted; and when he had told me that all the Bishops both of Macedonia and Achaia shared in this decision, I, thinking that I must needs follow so great a man, on account of the trustworthiness of those who passed this law, and also hoping to receive the reward ‘of the peacemakers,’ enrolled among the communicants those who confessed this faith.”

To Rufinianus, a Bishop who had consulted S. Athanasius, and to whom the aged Bishop wrote as to his “lord and son,” he mentions Synods of Bishops to the same end, in Greece, Spain and Gaul. “^dWhen first the violence was allayed, there was a Synod [that of Alexandria] of Bishops from foreign

^c Ep. 204. ad Neocæs. § 6.

^d Ep. ad Rufin. T. i. p. 963, 4.

parts. [Eusebius. &c.] There was also a Synod among our fellow-ministers who dwell in Greece; and no less among those in Spain and Gaul; and the same was accepted here and every where." "I make this known to your Piety, being confident that you will receive this decision, and will not blame the lenity of the Synod. Be so good as to read this to the Priesthood and people under you, that they too, knowing this, may not blame you for being so disposed towards these persons." S. Hilary, meanwhile, had been labouring independantly to the same end. He, by the Providence of God, was sent back to France by Constantius, although not freed from the sentence of banishment. "When^e he had traversed well-nigh the whole world, infected with the disease of faithlessness, he, hesitating and labouring under a mighty weight of care, when many thought that communion was not to be held with those who had received the Synod of Ariminum, thinking it best to bring back all to repentance and amendment, by frequent Councils within Gaul, and almost all the Bishops confessing their errors, condemns [with them] what was done at Ariminum and restores the faith of the Churches to its former state. Saturninus, Bishop of Arles, resisting this, and convicted of many nameless crimes, besides the infamy of his heresy, was cast out of the Church. Paternus of Perigeux, equally insensate, and not hesitating to profess misbelief, was deposed; the rest were

^e Sulp. ii. 60.

pardoned. All own, that through Hilary alone our France was freed from the guilt of heresy.^f "France, through Hilary, condemned the fraud of the faithlessness of Ariminum."

The first Council of Paris A. D. 360. whose Synodical letter has been preserved, was one of many, held at the same time. S. Hilary gives to the Synodical letter the title "The^g Synodical of the Council, or the Catholic Faith set forth in the City of Paris, by the Gallican Bishops to the Eastern Bishops." The greeting of the Epistle is, "The Gallican Bishops to their fellow-Priests, all the Eastern Bishops throughout divers provinces abiding in Christ." It is an answer to a letter to S. Hilary, written probably by the Semi-Arians, after their deposition at the Synod of Constantinople, excommunicating the Arian delegates from Ariminum, and requesting the Gallican Bishops to do the same. The Gallican Bishops first state; "From your letters, which ye directed to our beloved brother and fellow-priest Hilary, we have learned the fraud of the devil and the devices of heretics conspiring against the Church of the Lord, that, divided in the East and West, we might be mutually deceived as to each other. For most of those at Ariminum or Nice, were constrained to silence as to the 'Substance' under the authority of your name." Then after a sound confession of faith they add; "Since our simplicity learns from your letters, that we were imposed upon in being

^f S. Jerom. Chron.

^g Fragm. xi. init. p. 1353.

silent as to the word 'Substance,' we too withdraw from all which through ignorance we did amiss; we hold as excommunicate, Auxentius, Ursacius, Valens, Gaius, Megasius, and Justin [six of the ten legates from Ariminum] according to the tenor of your letters; and condemn all the blasphemies which you have subjoined to your letters; specially rejecting their apostate Bishops, who, through the ignorance or impiety of some, have been set in the place of brethren banished most shamefully; promising before God, that whoever within France shall resist these enactments shall be cast out from our communion and his Episcopal See." They announce that "Saturninus, who resisted this decree, had, according to two^h previous letters of our brethren, been excommunicated by all the Gallican Bishops."

Unity and faith being thus restored in France, S. Eusebius and S. Hilary laboured together for the restoration of Italy, A. D. 363. S. Hilary chiefly, through his natural gentleness and placidity, his learning and persuasiveness.ⁱ "Thus these two men, like magnificent lights of the world, irradiated, with their brightness, Illyricum, Italy, and France; so that the darkness of the heretics was scattered even from their dark corners."

At this time Liberius wrote "to the Catholic Bishops throughout Italy," mentioning the severer judgments

^h i. e. he was excommunicated now for the third time. The first was after the Council of Milan A.D. 355. (S. Hil. c. Const. §. 2.) The sentence, probably, was renewed after the Council of Beziers. (de Syn. §. 3. Bened. Note ad loc.) Id.

ⁱ Ruf. i. 31.

of some; “but^k I, who ought to weigh all things calmly, especially since all the Egyptians and Greeks have adopted this judgment, think that those who acted in ignorance at Ariminum ought to be spared, the authors of the heresy being condemned.” Liberius adopts altogether the decision at Alexandria; “if any give himself wholly to the Apostolic and Catholic Faith, which existed up to the meeting of the Synod of Nice.” They were the terms, on which he had himself been received back. Soon after “the ¹ Bishops of Italy wrote a congratulatory letter to their most beloved brethren, who throughout Illyricum, retain the faith of the Fathers.” They formally rescind the decrees of Ariminum, and ask the Bishops of Illyricum to join therein. “Since Italy has returned to the faith of the Fathers, i. e. the Creed framed at Nice, owning the deceit to which it was subjected at Ariminum, we rejoice that God has looked graciously on Illyricum also, and joy with you, that, having cast aside the fellowship with faithlessness, it has begun to approve what is right. Receive then, dearest brethren, our decision, which we have confirmed with our subscription. We receive the Creed of Nice against Arius and Sabellius, whose condemnation Photinus has inherited. We, with reason, by consent of all the provinces [of Italy], rescind the decrees of the Council of Ariminum, which, through the tergiversation of some, were corrupted; and of this we have decided to send copies, lest it should be thought that there

^k S. Hil. Fragm. xii. 1.

¹ Ib. §. 3.

was any disunion either as to retaining the faith, or rejecting the Council of Ariminum. Whoever then desires to be in communion with our united body, let him with all speed confirm our sentence, sending distinctly his subscription to the Nicene Creed, and his rescinding of the Council of Ariminum. We only ask what we ourselves give with the consent of these many provinces.”

France, Italy, Illyricum, Achaia, Egypt, were thus at rest. The times did not admit of a General Council, and S. Athanasius thought that the emerging heresy of Macedonius, who was beginning to deny the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, was as yet sufficiently met by the Nicene Creed, as it then existed. “For the Fathers of Nice,” he says, “glorified the Holy Ghost together with the Father and the Son in the one faith of the Trinity, because in the Holy Trinity there is One Godhead.”

S. Athanasius, then, resorted to the same way of collecting the sense of the Church, which had been adopted in the second century, about the keeping of Easter,^m and which he himself had followed in the confirmation of the Council of Sardica,ⁿ by obtaining Synodical letters from the different Churches throughout the world. Thus in the brief space of the year and a half of Julian’s reign,^o S. Athanasius had brought

^m See above, p. 50. sqq.

ⁿ Ab. p. 140.

^o Constantius died Nov. 11, A. D. 361. Julian was declared Augustus by the Senate, Dec. 11.—He published his edict soon afterwards; fell, and was succeeded by Jovian, June 26. or 27. A. D. 363.

together the testimony of almost the whole living Church, that they adhered to the faith of Nice. He states this in his letter to Jovian on his accession :—
“ Know,^p most religious Emperor, that these things were preached from the beginning; this faith the Fathers assembled at Nice confessed; this all the Churches everywhere now in their places receive, in Spain and Gaul, and the whole of Italy, Dalmatia, Dacia, and Mysia, Macedonia, and the whole of Greece, and throughout all Africa, and Sardinia, and Cyprus, Crete, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Isauria, and those in Egypt and Libya, Pontus and Cappadocia, and the Churches near us, and those in the East, except a few which hold the opinions of Arius. The mind of all the fore-mentioned we know by actual trial, and we *have their letters*. And thou knowest, most religious Emperor, that though some few oppose this Creed, they can create no prejudice, when the whole world holds the Apostolic Faith.”

S. Athanasius, a few years later, about A. D. 369, in a Synodical letter from the Bishops of Egypt and Libya to those of Africa Proper, mentions some additional countries, but states distinctly that this adherence to the Nicene Creed was given by Synods. “^q What was written both by our beloved fellow-minister Damasus, Bishop of the great Rome, and those so many Bishops who met in Council with him

^p Ep. ad Jovian. §. 2, p. 781.

^q Ep. Episc. Æg. et Lib. et. S. Ath. c. Arian. ad Ep. Afr. init. T. i. p. 891.

might have sufficed; and no less the writings of the other Synods which were held in Gaul and Italy concerning the sound faith, which Christ bestowed, the Apostles preached, and the Fathers, assembled in Nice from our whole world, handed down. For so great was their zeal on account of the Arian heresy, that they who had fallen into it should be plucked out, and they who had devised it, should be made manifest. To this the whole world long since agreed; and now too, that there have been many Synods, all in Dalmatia, and Dardania, Macedonia, the Epiri and Greece, Crete and the other Islands, Sicily, Cyprus, Pamphylia, Lycia and Isauria, the whole of Egypt and Lybia, and most of those in Arabia, having this again brought before them, confirmed it: and they revered those who had subscribed it [the Nicene Fathers] because, even if any bitterness yet survived among them, springing up from the root of the Arians, i. e. Auxentius and Ursacius, and Valens and those who hold the same opinions, they had been cut off and rejected by these letters."

The object of these Councils was, not to add any thing to what had been done by the Council of Nice, but to show that the main body of the Bishops, however some had for the time been imposed upon by pleas about Scriptural terms, really held the faith which was confessed at Nice. "I for my part," says S. Athanasius in his celebrated letter to ^r Epictetus,

“thought that all the idle speaking of all heretics whatsoever had been silenced through the Council at Nice. For the faith therein confessed by the Fathers according to the Divine Scriptures is sufficient to overthrow all ungodliness, and to establish the godly Faith in Christ. Therefore, whereas now too there have been many Synods in Gaul, Spain, and great Rome,^s all who have assembled, as though moved by one Spirit, have unanimously anathematized those who still secretly hold the Arian opinions; I mean Auxentius in Milan, Ursacius, Valens, and Gaius of Pannonia. And since these people devised to themselves names of Synods, they wrote everywhere that none be called a Synod in the Catholic Church, save only the Synod held at Nice, which was a trophy set up over all heresy, specially the Arian, by reason of which the Synod was chiefly held. How then, after all this, do some still venture to question or dispute?”

The relation of Councils to the whole Church, of which even General Councils are the representatives, is illustrated by the different issue of the two Councils of Nice and Ariminum. Over and above the fact, that the Bishops at Ariminum condemned heresy, while free, and suppressed the clear expression of truth, under threats, the Council of Nice was confirmed by the whole Church; that of Ariminum was rejected by it. The confirmation or rejection by the whole Church set the seal to the character of the

^s In contrast with “New Rome” or Constantinople.

Council which represented it. "The^t Council of Nice became Œcumenical, three hundred and eighteen Bishops assembling concerning the Faith, because of the Arian impiety ; that there might no longer be partial Councils, under pretext of the Faith, but that even if there were, they might not hold. For what did that lack, that any should seek something new ? It is full of piety, beloved ; it hath filled the whole world. This the Indians too acknowledged, and all the Christians among the other Barbarians. Vain therefore is their toil who are often striving against it. For these people have already held ten or more Synods, changing in each, taking away some things from the first, and in the following changing and adding. And they have gained nothing up to the present time, writing, erasing, forcing, not knowing that 'every plant, which the Heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.' But the Word of the Lord which came by the Œcumenical Council of Nice remaineth for ever. For if any one compare number with number, they of Nice surpass the partial Councils, as much as the whole is greater than the part."

The Arians exaggerated the numbers of the Bishops at Ariminum to eight hundred and thirty.^u

^t Ep. ad. Afr. §. 2. p. 892.

^u Auxentius in his Memorial to the Emperors, calls them six hundred. "I think, most pious Emperors, that the unity of six hundred Bishops is not to be reopened through the contentiousness of a few men." in S. Hil. c. Aux. §. 13. Philostorgius calls them three hundred only. (iv. 10.) Julian the Pelagian taunted the Church, as though out of six hundred and fifty, some seven only had stood. (in S. Aug. Op. Imp. c. Jul. i. 75.) S. Athanasius says that there were

The Church could afford to argue, as if this were true. The judgment of the Episcopate of the whole Church confirmed the faith taught by the three hundred and eighteen at Nicæa; it corrected the timidity of those at Ariminum, and would have annulled their decision, had they even been eight hundred and thirty. “As for their plea with the ignorant, ‘are we to believe the many or the few?’ says S. Fulgentius,^v in that the Council of Nice was celebrated with three hundred and eighteen Fathers, whereas they boast that of Ariminum amounted to eight hundred and thirty—I will explain briefly. The Homoousion, put forth amid a few [as was alleged] so prevailed, that coming to the knowledge of the other Bishops throughout the whole world, they joyed in the honor of confessing it. Had the Synod of Ariminum met in those vast numbers which these assert, the Bishops of that sect would multiply throughout the world, its people would increase, its faith would occupy the Empire itself. But when the craft of its fraud was detected through prudent and approved men, the Homoousion was so confirmed, that we see that scarce a vestige of Ariminum remained wherewith to prove the Catholics.”

The Semi-Arians and Donatists also availed themselves of Julian’s permission to return to their Sees. The Donatist conventicles will best be considered to-

more than four hundred Bishops there. (Counc. Arim. §. 8. p. 82. §. 33. p. 130. O. T.) The Synodical Epistle of the Bishops of Egypt and Lybia calls them (in the present text) two hundred. §. 3. p. 893.

^v pro fide Cath. §. 3. B. P. T. ix. p. 270.

gether. “The ^w party of Macedonius, of whom were Eleusius, Eustathius, and Sophronius, who now began openly to be called Macedonians, as being parted into a distinct sect, being enabled by the death of Constantius to act fearlessly, having called together their associates at Seleucia, held certain Synods; and rejected the Acacians and the Creed confirmed at Ariminum, and approved that set forth at Antioch, and confirmed at Seleucia. When blamed for needlessly differing with the Acacians, whereas before they had communicated with them as being of one mind, Sophronius of Paphlagonia answered, ‘The Westerns approve of the ‘Of One Substance,’ Aetius in the East ‘the Unlikeness in Substance.’ The Westerns confound the Persons of the Father and the Son. Aetius removed too far the relationship of the Nature of the Son from the Father. *We* are reverent in saying that the Son is ‘like in Substance’ to the Father, and have chosen a middle way, the others going to opposite extremes.’” As if there could be any middle term between the Creator and the creature, or as if any being, who was not God, Equal with the Father, could be other than a creature!

The little party of Aetius also made its Synod. Eudoxius wrote to Euzoius of Antioch to gather a Synod to absolve Aetius from his condemnation. Eunomius with five Arian Bishops from Africa, who before would not condemn Aetius,^x consecrated him

^w Soz. v. 14.

^x *ib.* p. 205.

Bishop at Constantinople.^y Euzoius, at the same time, having gathered a Synod of nine Bishops, annulled the sentence against Aetius.

God took away Julian, while threatening evil to the Christians, and gave them, through Jovian, an eight months' peace. Jovian, elected by Julian's army in its difficulties, was a Catholic. "As^z soon as he set foot within his Empire, he first passed a law recalling the banished Bishops and restoring the Churches to those who held the Nicene Faith inviolate. He wrote also to Athanasius, requesting him to send him in writing accurate instruction in Divine things. But he, gathering the best Divines of the Bishops together, wrote back exhorting him to keep the Faith set forth at Nice, as agreeing with the Apostolic doctrine." The letter is inscribed, "Athanasius^a and the other Bishops who met together, in behalf of all the Bishops of Egypt, the Thebais and Libya." The Epistle is chiefly a statement of facts. S. Athanasius insists on the fact of the *reception* of the Nicene Creed. "It was acknowledged and proclaimed everywhere in every Church." "The^b Emperor having read the letter was firmer in his knowledge and disposition as to Divine things."

The Macedonian Bishops, on their side, attempted to gain Jovian to expel the Anomœans, and reinstate themselves.

"At^c that time Basil Bishop of Ancyra and Silva-

^y Philostrg. vii. 6.

^z Theod. iv. 2, 3.

^a S. Ath. de fid. ad. Jov.

^b Theod. iv. 4.

^c Soz. vi. 4.

nus Bishop of Tarsus, and Sophronius Bishop of Pompeiopolis, and their party^d who rejected the heresy of the Anomœans, but accepted the ‘of like Substance’ instead of the ‘of One Substance,’ sent a petition to the Emperor, asking that either what had been settled at Ariminum and Seleucia should remain firm, and what had been done through the party-spirit and power of certain persons, be void, or that the schism, which existed between the Churches before the Synods, remaining, the Bishops everywhere be allowed to meet where they willed, themselves by themselves, no other taking part.^e—At the same time a Synod being assembled in Antioch of Syria, the faith of those who had met at Nice is confirmed, and it is decreed, that questionless the Son be held to be of One Substance with the Father. In this Synod Meletius, who had then the charge of the Church of Antioch itself, and Eusebius of Samosata, [S.] Pelagius of Laodicea, Acacius and [S.] Irenio of Gaza, and Athanasius of Ancyra, took part. Having done this, they shewed the Emperor what they had decreed, writing thus; ‘To our most religious Lord Jovian, the Synod of Bishops met in Antioch from different Provinces.’—Thus did the Bishops then present at Antioch de-

^d Soer. iii. 25. names four other Bishops.

^e “Nicephorus explains this of secular Officers who, at the command of the Emperors, were present at Synods to keep order or to help (see ab. p. 127-8. 189-92.) For he substitutes the words “no layman taking part” [μή τινας κοσμικοῦ κοινωνοῦντος for μηδενὸς ἄλλου κοινωνοῦντος.] Yet these words may be understood of Bishops themselves, and perhaps better. For Basil, Silvanus and others, asked that each Bishop might call Synods together within his own diocese, no other Bishop being present.”—Vales.

cree, subjoining to their own letter in its very words the faith set forth by those who met at Nice." Socrates adds the names of twenty-seven Bishops who subscribed it, including besides the above, Titus of Bostra, Anatolius of Berœa, Isaac of Armenia Major; and of the Acacians, Evagrius, Uranius, Zoilus, Eutychius, Peter of Hippi, Arabion, Magnus, and Acacius himself. Socrates says "we found this book in Sabinus' collection of Synodical Transactions."

Valentinian succeeded Jovian, February 26. A. D. 364. and, associating his brother Valens with himself, assigned to him the East. "As^f Valentinian was journeying through Thrace from Constantinople to Rome, the Bishops of Hellespont and Bithynia and as many others as held that the Son was 'of^g One Substance' with the Father, delegate Hypatian Bishop of Hæclea to request to be permitted to meet [in Synod] for the correction of doctrine." To these Valentinian made the celebrated answer; "For^h me who hold the rank of a layman, it is not lawful to meddle in these things; let the Bishops, whose office it is, meet by themselves where they will."

Soonⁱ after, "Valens remaining at Constantinople, very many of the Bishops of the Macedonian sect"

^f Soz. vi. 7. ^g Sozomen probably supposed these Bishops to have been sincere in professing the Nicene faith to Liberius. Some correct Homoiousion "of like Substance."

^h Sozomen appears to have had some knowledge of this characteristic answer of Valentinian, and so to have corrected the account of Socrates who only mentions the application which the Macedonians made to Valens. In the early days of their Empire, just on its division, it is probable that the Macedonian Bishops applied to both brothers. ⁱ Socr. iv. 2.

made the same request to him. "The King, supposing them to agree with the Acacians and Eudoxians, permitted it. They speedily gathered a Synod at Lampsacus." "And^k having consulted for two months, they at last decided that what had been done at Constantinople through Eudoxius and Acacius should be annulled." They adopted the word "of like Substance" as being^l necessary in their judgment "to distinguish the Persons" of the Father and the Son. "Then, having confirmed anew the Creed of Antioch, which they had also subscribed at Seleucia, they anathematized the Creed set forth at Ariminum by those who were lately joined in opinion with them; and anew they condemned Acacius and Eudoxius, as justly deposed." "They^m decreed moreover that the Bishops deposed by the Anomœans should recover their Sees, as having been unlawfully ejected from their Churches. If any one wished to accuse them, he should do it at the like risk. The judges should be the orthodox Bishops of the province and the neighbouring provinces, meeting in that Church, where are the witnesses of the life of each. Having decreed this, and summoned the Eudoxians and allowed them repentance, they, upon the non-compliance of the Eudoxians, published to the Churches everywhere, what they had decreed." "Eudoxiusⁿ Bishop of Constantinople, could not gainsay all this, for the civil war^o hindered him. Wherefore Eleusius Bishop of Cyzicus and his party

^k Soz. l. c.^l Soer. iv. 4.^m Soz. l. c.ⁿ Soer. l. c.^o The revolt of Procopius.

became stronger, having sanctioned the doctrine of Macedonius, before of little account, but then much more known in the Synod at Lampsacus. I think that this Synod was the cause that the Macedonians are numerous on the Hellespont. For Lampsacus is on the strait of the Hellespont." "The ^p Emperor, having prospered, again harassed the Christians, wishing to Arianize every religion. The Synod at Lampsacus especially angered him, not only for deposing the Arianizing Bishops, but because it also anathematized the Creed of Ariminum. He sent then for Eleusius to Nicomedia and having gathered a Council of Bishops of the Arian heresy, constrained him to join their faith."

The Historians differ as to the time when Valens fell into Arianism. He was seduced by his wife, who had been misled by Eudoxius. Theodoret is at pains to shew that he was orthodox at first,^a but was baptized by Eudoxius when about to march against the Goths A. D. 368. Socrates ^r and Sozomen ^s speak of him as an Arian from the first. Plainly, he must have been an Arian, before he chose Eudoxius, from whom to receive Baptism. Probably, he took no overt line at first, and allowed his brother from whom he had received his power, to prefix his name to the Imperial letter to the Bishops of Asia.

The persecutions of Valens began A. D. 366. He persecuted all who were not Arians, the Orthodox,

^p Ib. iv. 6.

^a Theod. iv. 7. and 12.

^r iv. 1.

^s vi. 6.

the Novatians, as being orthodox on the doctrine of the Trinity, and the Semi-Arians as not being Arians. "In ^t Thrace, Bithynia, the Hellespont, and beyond, the Emperor and Eudoxius left to the Orthodox, neither churches nor priests. In these parts they directed their chief efforts against the Macedonians, as far outnumbering them." This persecution of the Semi-Arians was, in God's hands, the means of bringing back a large section of the Semi-Arians to the Church. The Macedonian Bishops, persecuted by Valens, "decided ^u that they must betake themselves to his brother (Valentinian Emperor of the West) and to Liberius Bishop of Rome, and embrace their faith rather than communicate with the Eudoxians. They sent therefore Eustathius, Silvanus, and Theophilus with letters which they wrote,—having gathered Synods, from Smyrna, Pisidia, Isauria, Pamphylia, Lycia." The three Bishops stated, "in the book which they presented to Liberius, 'We acknowledge the Synod of orthodox Bishops which took place in Lampsacus and Smyrna and divers other places, of which Synod ^v we, being the legates, bring to your Goodness and to all the Bishops of Italy and the West, a writing, that we hold and keep the Catholic faith ; viz. that, which having been confirmed by the three hundred and eighteen Bishops in the holy Council of Nice, in time of the blessed Constantine, abides till now and continually, undefiled

^t Soz. vi. 10.

^u Soer. iv. 12.

^v "all the Synods agreeing, they speak of all as one." from Vales.

and unshaken ; wherein the Homoousion stands holily and piously against the perversions of Arius." This they promise to keep to the end, condemning Arius and his impious doctrine, with his disciples and those of like mind ; also all heresies of the Patropassians, Sabellius, the Marcionites, Photinians, Marcellians, and Paul of Samosata and their teaching, and all like-minded with them, and all heresies opposed to the aforesaid holy faith, which was holily and Catholically set forth by the holy fathers at Nice, &c. and the Creed recited at the Council of Ariminum, as being contrary to the above Creed of Nice, which Acts, being brought from Nice to Constantinople, they, persuaded through craft and perjury, subscribed." "This confession, I Eustathius, Bishop of Sebastia, and Theophilus and Silvanus legates of the Synods of Lampsacus, Smyrna and the rest, subscribe."

The answer of Liberius is entitled " The Epistle of Liberius, Bishop of the Romans, to the Bishops of the Macedonians." It runs, " To our beloved brethren and fellow-Bishops Eustathius, Cyril," (and sixty-one others who are named) "and to all the orthodox Bishops in the East, Liberius Bishop,"^w (and those) of Italy, and the Bishops in the West." He mentions that " almost all those who were at Ariminum and were deceived or led away, had now recovered, and

^w Epiph. Schol. vii. 25. has " Liberius Bishop, and the Western Bishops." Vales. prefers this, or to add οἱ τε before τῆς Ἰταλίας, to Socrates' reading, " Bishop of Italy." Liberius speaks a little afterwards of "the faith of my Leastship, and of those in Italy and all the Westerns," which corresponds with the memorial of the three Bishops. p. 234.

had anathematized the Creed of those who met at Ariminum, and subscribed the Catholic and Apostolic faith, sanctioned at Nice ;” and having rehearsed their acts, he adds, “we have known through the confession of your legates, that the Easterns, having recovered, agree with the Orthodox of the Westerns.”

“Having received this letter, Eustathius and those with him went to Sicily ; and having procured a Synod of the Sicilian Bishops to be held, and having, before them, confessed the faith of the Homoousion, and confirmed the faith of Nice, having received from them too letters of the same import, returned to those who sent them.”

This, as far as relates to Eustathius himself, was hypocrisy, and he made use of the restoration to the See, thus obtained, to the furtherance of his own heresy ; but it was a step to a better understanding of the East and West. The legates explained that they held that “the Son was in all things like the Father,” and that the word “like,” “Homoios” (in their meaning) no way differed from “Homoousion,” “of one Substance.” This letter was one of the last acts of Liberius, who died Sept. 24. A. D. 366. and was succeeded by Damasus.

“^xAt that time Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea, Pelagius of Laodicea, Zeno of Tyre, Paul of Emesa, Otreus of Melitine and Gregory of Nazianzum (father of S. Gregory of Nazianzum) and many others who, in the reign of Jovian had decreed at Antioch to retain

^x Soz. vi. 12.

the Homoousion, holding a Synod at Tyana, the letters of Liberius and others of the West were read. And being exceedingly glad thereat, they wrote to all the Churches, to read the decrees of the Bishops of the West, and the letters of Liberius, and the Italians, Africans, Galatians in the West, and Sicilians, (for the legates from Lampsacus had brought their letters also) and to consider their number; for they far exceeded in number the Synod at Ariminum. They wrote also that they should be of one mind and communicate with them, and signify by their own writing that they are of the same opinion, and meet in the spring at Tarsus, at a day which they fixed. But when the Synod was about to be held at Tarsus, about thirty-four of the Asiatic Bishops, having met in Caria of Asia, praised their zeal for the harmony of the Churches, but declined the word Homoousion, and affirmed that the Creed set forth at Antioch and Seleucia ought to prevail, as being that of Lucian the Martyr, and having been approved by those before them with perils and much toil. The Emperor, instigated by Eudoxius, dissolved the Synod expected in Cilicia, writing thereupon and adding threats. He commanded also the Governors of the Provinces severally to expel from the Churches the Bishops deposed in the time of Constantius and who resumed their office in the reign of Julian."

In the same year, Ursacius and Valens, Gaius and Paul, Anomœan Bishops, wrote from a Synod at Sigidin,^y to Germinius Bishop of Mursa (under threat of en-

^y S. Hil. Fragn. xiv. p. 1360.

tertaining some complaint of ill-treatment by two of his Clerks made against him to their fellow-Bishops) to request him to explain, that he was also an Anomœan. Germinius wrote back^z to eight other Bishops there assembled, that he learnt and taught clearly, that “Our Lord Christ, the Son of God, *is* like to the Father in all things, except that the Father was Unbegotten.” In the Confession,^a which occasioned the Arian Synod of Sigidin, Germinius said that he “believed in Christ, the Only Son of [God the Father] and our Lord God, the Very^b Son of God, of the Very God the Father, Begotten before all things, like in all things, in Divinity, Love, Power, Glory, Life, Wisdom, Knowledge, Majesty, to the Father, as being Begotten Perfect from Perfect.”

Damasus, at the beginning of his Episcopate, was occupied with the opposition of his wicked rival Ursinus. S. Athanasius and his Council A. D. 369. mention to the African Bishops a letter written against the Arians by him and the Bishops who had met in Synod with him.^c And “we^d thanked” he says, “his (Damasus’) Piety and the rest who met at Rome, that casting out Ursacius and Valens, with their associates of the same mind, they preserved the peace of the Church.” Nothing more is known of this Council, nor does it appear what remained for Damasus and his

^z Ib. Fragm. xv.

^a Fragm. xiii.

^b This form while it approaches in *sound* to the Nicene Creed, only asserts our Lord to be “the Very Son,” not to be Very God. see *Gesta Conc. Aquil. ap. S. Ambr. Epist. T. ii. p. 790. 1.*

^c see ab. p. 223.

^d Ep. ad Episc. Afr. §. 10. p. 899.

Council to do ; since a previous Council of Italian Bishops had, in the time of Liberius, declared them already condemned.^e

In a second Council of forty-four Bishops,^f Damasus was cleared of a calumnious charge of adultery, and the calumniators cast out of the Church.

A. D. 369. One Chronopius, an “ ex-Bishop ” condemned by a Council of seventy Bishops,^g appealed to the prefect of the city, and was by him again condemned. This second sentence Chronopius attempted to suspend by a new appeal. He thereby incurred a heavy fine, which the Emperor, Valentinian the Elder, directed to be “ faithfully expended on the poor.” This was now made a law “ for all Ecclesiastical causes.” This Chronopius perhaps belonged to the faction of Ursinus.

A. D. 371. S. Athanasius wrote in the name of a large Council to “ our^h beloved Damasus, Bishop of Great Rome, against Auxentius, invader of the Church at Milan, setting forth, that he was not only involved in the Arian heresy, but was guilty of many offences, which he had committed together with Gregory [the Arian invader of the See of S. Athanasius] the partner of his ungodliness, and marvelling why he was not yet deposed and cast out of the Church.” The same Synod, which in its Epistle to the African Bishops mentions the Epistle which it had sent to Damasus, urged the African Bishops to reject those who

^e see ab. p. 220. S. Hil. Frag. xii. p. 1359. ^f Gest. Pontific. Conc. ii. 1037.

^g Cod. Theod. Quorum appellat leg. 20. T. iv. p. 307. Conc. ii. 1040.

^h Ep. ad Afr. §. 10. p. 899.

maintained the Council of Ariminum against the Nicene. "Not we alone write this; but all the Bishops in Egypt and Africa, ninety in number. For all are of the same mind, and subscribe one for the others if they happen to be absent."

S. Hilary also wrote a circular letter to "his most beloved brethren, the Bishops and all people, who abode in the faith of the Fathers," against Auxentius.ⁱ

In consequence of the appeal of the Council of Alexandria, Damasus assembled a Council of ninety or ninety-three Bishops ^kfrom Italy and Gaul at Rome, "to hear the cause of Auxentius and set forth the faith."

The Letter of the Council was Encyclical. One was addressed; "The^l Bishops who met in sacred Synod at Rome, Damasus, Valerian and the rest, to their beloved brethren the Bishops in Illyricum." They state; "By the report of certain Gallican [S. Hilary] and Venetian brethren [Philastrius and Evagrius] we have learnt that certain are set upon heresy. Which evil, Bishops ought not only to forecast, but they ought also to resist what is done by the ignorance or simplicity of some, deceived by wrong interpretations. They must not be shaken by divers doctrines; they must rather retain the belief of our Fathers. It is decided that Auxentius of Milan is on this ground especially condemned. It is right

ⁱ c. Auxent. p. 1263. sqq.

^k 90, in Ep. 6. Damas. Conc. ii. 1031. and Theod. ii. 22. sqq. The copy published by Luc. Holstein has 93. Pontif. Ep. p. 165. Conc. ii. 1013.

^l Theod. ii. 22.

then that all the teachers in the Roman world should be of the same mind and not defile the faith by divers teaching. For when the malice of heretics began to put forth, as now too especially the blasphemy of the Arians is stealthily spreading, our forefathers, the three hundred and eighteen^m Bishops, having considered it at Nice, placed this wall against the darts of the devil, and by this antidote removed his deadly poisons, that the Father and the Son are of One Substance, One Godhead, &c. But those very persons, who, at Ariminum, were constrained to change or to tamper with this formula, corrected this so far, as to confess that they had been misled into other language, because they did not observe, that it was contrary to the decision of the Fathers at Nice. Your sound mind then perceives that this faith alone which was founded at Nice on the authority of the Apostles, is to be kept firm for ever, and that those of the East, who profess that they are Catholics, and the Westerns, with us, glory in it. But we believe that, in no great time, those otherwise minded will, by the very attempt, be severed from our communion, and that the very name of Bishop will be taken from them, so that the people may breathe again, freed from their errors. For *they* cannot recall the people from error, who are themselves held by the meshes of error. Let your judgement, beloved, agree

^m Sozomen (vi. 23.) and Epiphanius Schol. have been followed in leaving out the clause *καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ρωμᾶων ἀγιοτάτης* which are omitted also in the Cod. Reg. and edit. Basil. ap. Vales. It bears the appearance of an addition.

with all the Priests [Bishops] of God, wherein we believe that you are firm and steadfast. If then we are to join with you in the right faith, gladden us, beloved, with letters in return."

Another copyⁿ of the letter is preserved, in which the Synod is said to have been held by "imperial rescript," the Bishops to have been ninety-three, and the Synodal letter is addressed to "the Catholic Bishops throughout the East." The letter is authenticated by the subscription of Sabinus, "I Sabinus Deacon, legate of Milan, gave this from the original." "The whole Eastern Church, having held a Council at Antioch, believing with a harmonious faith, all consenting to the faith above expounded, each confirmed it by his subscription. The list is headed by Meletius Bishop of Antioch. Then follow Eusebius of Samosata, Pelagius, Zeno, Eulogius, Bematius, Diodorus of Tarsus, and "one hundred and forty six, [or one hundred and sixty three,] other Eastern Bishops, the authentic copy of whose subscription is kept in the archives of the Roman Church at this day."

The Synodical letter of the Bishops of Italy and France was sent to the Bishops of the East, in consequence of the application of S. Basil, who, after he had restored peace among his own suffragan Bishops,

ⁿ published by L. Holstein and in Conc. ii. 1043. After the subscription of Sabinus authenticating the Epistle, and before the subscriptions, there occur statements on the Holy Trinity, and against Apollinarianism, probably authentic, since mention is made of Dorotheus, the Presbyter sent by S. Basil to the West. ap. Holstein l. c. This copy specifies ten names. The original contained them all; for Theodoret says "I would have inserted their names, had I not thought it superfluous."

had been labouring unceasingly for the pacification of the Church. To this centre three plans converged:—1. To bring about a good understanding between the Easterns and Westerns, so as to exhibit the Church in one against the Arians. 2. To heal the schism at Antioch between the adherents of S. Meletius and Paulinus, by gaining the Westerns to acknowledge S. Meletius. 3. To bring back the Semi-Arians, or Macedonians, to the Church. The Roman Church, by recognising Paulinus, whom Lucifer had consecrated in opposition to Meletius, was itself the chief supporter of the schism at Antioch. S. Basil also hoped, that if the East and West were once united, the oppressions of Valens might be mitigated, or might cease. The Western Bishops had, on their side, to explain to the Easterns, what they had done to rescind the Council of Ariminum, as also how, unceasingly condemning Arius, they abstained from censuring Marcellus, whose doctrines, ending in Sabellianism, came to the same result as Arianism. Sabellianism being imputed to the Catholics by the Arians, there was the more apparent reason to clear themselves from sanctioning it in Marcellus.

The fruits of S. Basil's labours appeared after he was gone to his rest. The Arian persecutions did not admit of large Councils. S. Basil therefore set himself to obtain the common consent of the Bishops, whom he was endeavouring to unite.

The first step in his plan of healing, was to obtain the reception of S. Meletius into the communion of

S. Athanasius and the West, since all the East held with him. “For^o the other affairs of the West,” he writes to S. Athanasius, “perhaps thou must have the aid of more [Bishops], and thou must needs wait for those from the West. But the good order of the Church at Antioch plainly depends upon your Piety; to make an arrangement as to some [Paulinus,] to quiet others, and through harmony to restore strength to the Church. We look to you to still the confusion of the people, and put an end to partial Presidencies [the Episcopate of Paulinus over a few] and to subject all to one another in love.” S. Basil explains this more clearly, at S. Athanasius’ request; “It^p is the prayer of the whole East, and much desired by those who are in all ways joined to him, [S. Meletius] to see him ordering the Church of the Lord, as being unblameable in faith, and in life admitting of no comparison, and as presiding over the whole body (so to say) of the Church, whereas the others are only segments of parts. But it has not escaped your matchless wisdom, that this seems good to those one-minded with you in the West, as the letters shew, brought to us by the blessed Silvanus” [of Tarsus, who had been sent to the West,^q A. D. 366]. In his letter to S. Meletius, he opens his hopes further. After regretting the delay, he says; “^rThe opinion has prevailed, that this our brother Dorotheus should go over to Rome, to stir up some of those from Italy to visit us, coming by sea, in order

^o S. Basil. Ep. 66, p. 159.^p 1b. Ep. 67, p. 160.^q ab. p. 234, 5.^r Ep. 68, p. 160.

to escape those who would hinder [the Arians]. For I saw that those in power near the Ruler, neither will, nor can suggest any thing as to the expelled [Bishops] but account it a gain, to see nothing worse done in the Churches. If then your Prudence thinks the plan useful, you will be so good as to frame letters, and make suggestions, of what subjects he should speak, and to whom. And that your letters may be the more accredited, by all means include all [Bishops] of one mind with you, though not present. Things here are uncertain, Euippius [an Arian] having arrived, but declaring nothing. For they threaten that they too will have a convention of their associates from Armenia, Tetrapolis and Cilicia.”

To S. Athanasius, whom S. Basil addresses as “having^s the same care of all the Churches, as of that specially entrusted to him by the Lord,” he betakes himself as “the head of all;” and asks him to send over Dorotheus, deacon of the Church of Antioch, accompanied by his letters or by some of his Clergy. “For it seemed to us suitable to write to the Bishop of Rome, to visit^t things here, and give an opinion, so that, since it is difficult for any from those parts to be sent here by a common and synodical decision, he may act for himself in this matter, choosing men equal to the fatigues of the journey, and qualified through meekness

^s Ep. 69.

^t S. Basil uses the word elsewhere in an untechnical sense, of a friendly visit of equals, not (as some Roman controversialists have taken it) of a Visitation. The office of the legate was to be, not to mediate, but to bring over to S. Melchius those who were opposed to him, and who were in communion with the West.

and firmness to admonish the perverse among us” [those who separated from S. Meletius] “who might bring with them the account of all which has been done since Ariminum, to undo what had there been done through constraint.” “Some here require also as an essential, (as it seems to me also), that they should banish the heresy of Marcellus, as pernicious and alien from the sound faith. For to this day, in all their letters, they anathematize unceasingly the miserable Arius, and expel the Arians from their Churches; but they never appear to have passed any censure on Marcellus, who put forth the opposite impiety.” This was attributed to an unwillingness to own their mistake in having admitted him to communion in ignorance. S. Basil also suggests to S. Athanasius that the legates, “when they came, should not introduce schisms into the Churches, but rather constrain those who had the same belief, to unite.” S. Basil’s letter to Damasus^u touches on the same topics, reminding him of the aid which Dionysius of Rome had rendered to the Church of Cæsarea, by letters of consolation and redeeming captive Christians.

Before Dorotheus returned from Rome, S. Basil wrote again to S. Athanasius, to obtain restoration of communion with some with whom it had been suspended. “Since^v all which among us is sound in faith, is sincerely directed to the communion and union with those of the same belief, we come boldly to beseech your forgiving spirit, to write to us all [the

^u Ep. 82.^v Ep. 70.

Bishops] one Epistle, admonishing us what we should do. For they wish that the beginning of the discussion as to communion should be made by thee. And since perchance, in memory of the past, they may be objects of suspicion, do this, most pious father, send me the letters for the Bishops, either through some trustworthy person of your own, or through Dorotheus, our brother and fellow-deacon, which when I receive I will yet not deliver, unless I first receive answers from them. Else, I will bear the blame all the days of my life."

The Bishops of Italy and France sent their answer to S. Athanasius, apparently that he might transmit it to whom he thought best. S. Athanasius sent it on to S. Basil.^w S. Basil expressed his joy at the agreement in the West, "shewing that the shepherds followed the footsteps of the fathers, and fed the people of the Lord with understanding." In this letter, addressed "To the most holy brethren and Bishops in the West," S. Basil begs them, "speak out openly among us that good preaching of the fathers, which overthroweth the unhappy heresy of Arius, and buildeth up the Churches in the sound doctrine, in which the Son is confessed of One Substance with the Father, and the Holy Ghost is, with equal honour, co-numbered and co-glorified; so that, through your prayers and aid, God may bestow on us also that same boldness in the truth, and the confession of the Divine and

^w Ep. 90.

saving Trinity, which He has upon you.—In all things which have been done by your Reverences according to the Canons, I assent, accepting your Apostolic zeal for the right faith.”

S. Basil sent on the Synodical letter of the Bishops of Italy and Gaul, to S. Meletius, with whom he was in communion, and hence it is that the Epistle sent from the West is subscribed by S. Meletius and the Bishops in communion with him, who were *not* in communion with the West, and not by Paulinus, who *was*.

S. Basil answered individually, by Sabinus, the letters written to him; and applied to S. Meletius to send a Synodical letter in answer to that from the West. So, he hoped, might union be brought about. “If any letter is to be written to the West, since an answer ought to be sent to them by one of ours, do you dictate the letter. For having met with Sabinus the deacon, whom they sent, I have written both to the Illyrians and to the Bishops in Italy and Gaul, and to some who wrote to me privately. But it were well, that one should be sent as from the Synod in common, to carry back a second letter, which do you have framed.” S. Basil also tells S. Meletius that he could do nothing towards restoring communion between him and S. Athanasius, unless S. Meletius, who had before been advised by evil counsellors^x to delay that communion, should himself seek it; that S. Athanasius was “inclined to be joined with *us*,” S. Basil says, “but

^x Ep. 89.

^y Ep. 258, Epiph. §. 3.

was grieved at being sent away before without communion, and that the promises still remain unfulfilled."

In consequence of S. Basil's advice, S. Meletius and thirty-one other Bishops sent a synodical letter "to their most ^z religious and holy brethren and fellow-ministers the like-minded Bishops in Italy and Gaul." After a heart-rending account of the condition to which Arianism and persecution had reduced the Churches "from ^a the border of Illyricum to the Thebais," they urge upon the Western Bishops, "there is need of haste to save those who remain, and that many brethren should come, enough to make up a full Synod, so that not only the gravity of those who sent them, but their own number also, may accredit them in their restorations; and they may renew the Creed written by our fathers at Nice, and proscribe heresy, and speak what shall be for the peace of the Church." Then, having asked their aid in bringing back those who, "confessing ^b the right faith, had devised schism," [the parties at Antioch] they conclude; "Of a truth, most highly blessed is that which has been bestowed upon your Piety by the Lord, that ye distinguish the adulterate from the pure, and proclaim the faith of the Fathers without suppression. We too receive it, and recognize it as cast in the Apostolic mould, ourselves too agreeing with it, and with all which in the Synodical letter is laid down canonically and lawfully."

^z Ep. 92.

^a §. 2.

^b §. 3.

Among those who sent this letter, there are the great names^c of S. Meletius, S. Eusebius of Samosata, S. Basil, S. Gregory [of Nyssa] S. Pelagius [of Laodicea] perhaps S. Barses,^d S. Bitus [of Carrhæ] Abram of Batnæ, a Confessor.

While it was yet winter,^e A. D. 373. S. Basil “received letters^f from the most pious Bishop Eusebius [of Samosata] bidding that letters should again be sent to the Westerns about some church-matters. He wished too that the letter should be framed by us, and subscribed by all [the Bishops] in communion. Not knowing how to write thereon, I have sent the memorial to your Piety, that having read it and considered what will be brought to you by our most beloved brother and fellow-presbyter Sanctissimus, you may yourself be so good as to frame thereon what shall occur to you, and we will be ready to agree to it, and will cause the letter to be conveyed quickly round to the [Bishops] in communion, so that he who is to go to the Bishops in the West, may carry with him all the subscriptions.”

S. Basil wrote again to S. Meletius, later in the same year, “If^g there seem to you any necessity for the Epistle to the Westerns, be so good, when you have framed one, to send it to us, that we may have it subscribed by the like-minded Bishops, and may have the subscriptions ready, made on a separate paper, which we can join on to that brought by our

^c Init.^d in S. Basil's text, “Bassus.” Tillemont S. Basil Art. 76.^e Ep. 121.^f Ep. 120.^g Ep. 129, §. 3.

brother and fellow-presbyter." S. Eusebius seems to have wished some fresh letter to be written as a reminder. S. Basil did not wish to repeat himself, nor did he think of any subject untouched upon, except "to exhort them [the Western Bishops] not to receive indiscriminately to communion those who came from the East; but having chosen one side, to receive the rest on the testimony of those in communion with it, and not to give credit to every one who wrote, on the plea of orthodoxy." For that thus they communicated with parties, most widely at variance with one another on matters of faith. Somewhat later, "Evagrius^h a presbyter of Antioch, who had gone to the West with S. Eusebius [of Vercellæ] returned from Rome asking of us," (S. Basil writes to S. Eusebius of Samosata,) "a letter containing word for word what they dictated; (for he brought us back our letter, as not approving itself to the more precise of those there,) and that there should be some legation of trustworthy persons, so that they might have some fair occasion for visiting us." S. Basil consulted S. Eusebius as to this.

The negotiations came to no end. Letters, (as S. Basil says of another,) seldom avail. "Iⁱ do not expect that anything of any account will result from letters, considering the precision of the man, and the very nature of letters; for discourse so transmitted is not calculated to carry its point. You must say much, hear much in answer, remove objections, bring contrary grounds

^h Ep. 138. §. 2.

ⁱ Ep. 156. Evagr. §. 2.

in support of your cause, nothing of which can words do, thrown powerless and lifeless on the paper." S. Basil had no one to send to the West, whom he thought fitted for the office.

A. D. 375. letters came from Damasus, recognizing more distinctly Paulinus, to the exclusion of S. Meletius. The Count Terentius was thought to have been won by the Paulinists, to take part against S. Meletius. S. Basil, in all haste, wrote to the Count, stating the doctrinal question at issue to be of great moment, and urging him "that^k he ought to wait, that the presidents of the Churches, whom I call pillars and the ground of the truth and the Church, should initiate this union and peace."

A. D. 376. S. Basil speaks of Sanctissimus, as "very earnest and going round the East, and bearing from all distinguished [Bishops] subscriptions and Epistles." S. Basil himself was "at a loss what to write, or how to join those who wrote;" he thought that it had only increased "the haughtiness of the Westerns," and he blamed their pride¹ and precipitancy. "They neither know the truth, nor endure to learn it. Pre-occupied by false suspicions, they do now as before in the case of Marcellus, resisting those who told them the truth, and strengthening heresy by their influence."

The event verified his fears. A. D. 377. Dorotheus returned. S. Basil, while apologizing to Peter Bishop of Alexandria for some disrespectful language of Do-

^k Ep. 214. fin. add. Ep. 215, 216.

¹ Ep. 239. Euseb. fin.

rotheus, says^m He related to us his conversations which he had with your reverence before the most reverend Bishop Damasus, and he grieved us by reporting, that our most religious brethren and fellow-ministers Meletius and Eusebius, were counted with the Arians; whereas, if nothing else commended their orthodoxy, the war against them from the Arians has no slight force of proof to those who judge candidly."

Better hope had dawned on the Eastern Church from Illyricum; but it set, almost as soon as it arose, through the sudden death of Valentinian, A. D. 375.

"Havingⁿ heard that some in Asia and Phrygia were questioning about the Divine doctrines, he [Valentinian] enjoined that there should be a Synod in Illyricum, and what it decreed and confirmed he sent to those who were questioning. They, having met, decreed that the Faith of Nice should "hold." The Imperial letter is written in the names of the Emperors, Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian; but in fact it came from Valentinian; "So^o large a Synod having been collected in Illyricum, after much discussion about the saving word, the most blessed Bishops set forth the Consubstantial Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Our Majesty then declares that this shall be proclaimed every where." Valentinian speaks against those who used the Emperor's name in matters of faith. "Let not any say that we have followed the religion of the King who rules this land, regarding not

^m Ep. 266. fin.

ⁿ Theod. iv. 7.

^o c. 8.

Him Who gave us commands about our salvation. The Gospel of our God hath this judgement, ‘render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s, and unto God, the things which are God’s.’ What say ye then, ye Bishops and Presidents of the saving word? If the exposition of your faith be thus, then, loving one another, cease to abuse the title of the King, and persecute not those who rightfully serve God.—Our Majesty has straightly commanded, not to persecute, nor oppress, nor harass those who cultivate the field of Christ.”

In the declaration of faith which the Emperor transmits as the doctrine of the Synod, it is said; “We confess, in conformity with the great and orthodox Synod [of Nice] that the Son is of One Substance with the Father; we believe as do the recent Synods in Rome and Gaul, that there is One and the Same Substance of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in Three Persons i. e. in Three perfect Hypostases.—And we anathematize those contrary-minded,” &c. The Synodical letter^p runs in the names of “the Bishops of Illyricum to the Churches of God and Bishops of the dioceses of Asia, Phrygia, Carophrygia, Pacatiana,” and subjoins the names of six Arian Bishops of Illyricum who were deposed.

Eustathius Bishop of Sebastia was the occasion of several Councils. He was originally rejected by S. Eustathius of Antioch for impiety;^q he then betook

^p Ib. c. 9.

^q S. Ath. Ar. Hist. §. 4, p. 222. O. T.

himself to Hermogenes, an Orthodox Bishop, offered to him, while on trial, a sound confession of faith, and was ordained by him.^r He was deposed,^s or separated from common prayers,^t by his own father Eulalius, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. He was made Bishop by the "Arians. After^v this he was deposed in a Synod of Neo-Cæsarea. "He was condemned anew in the Synod of Gangra^w in Paphlagonia, assembled on his account, because, since his first deposition, he had done many things against the laws of the Church." Sozomen adds that he was convicted of perjury in a Synod of Antioch. He states that he was deposed by five hundred Bishops. After the death of Hermogenes, he went to the Arian Eusebius of Constantinople, and was condemned for fraud. He was condemned at Constantinople, notwithstanding his acceptance of an Arian Creed, by Arian Bishops, as having before been deposed in the Council of Melitine. The Canons of Gangra were directed against the errors of Eustathius and his followers, but were received by the whole Church. "The^x neighbouring Bishops, assembled at Gangra, decreed that they should be alien from the Catholic Church, unless, according to the terms of the Synod, they condemned these several things." The Synodical letter is ad-

^r S. Basil Ep. 263. ad Occid. §. 3. ^s Socr. ii. 43. ^t Soz. iv. 24.

^u S. Ath. l. c. and Ep. ad Æg, §. 7. p. 133. ^v Ep. 244. ad Patroph. §. 6.

^w Socrates distinctly says [ii. 43.] that the Synod of Gangra was later than those of Seleucia and Constantinople A. D. 359. Sozomen, that Eustathius was subsequently condemned at a Synod of Antioch, partly for perjury, partly for attempting to overthrow what had been decreed by those who met at Melitine. [iv. 24.] ^x Soz. iii. 14.

dressed by thirteen Bishops, “who^y met at the holy Synod at Gangra to their most honoured Lords and fellow-ministers in Armenia.” In his creed Eustathius was a mere Euripus, taking up, and laying aside, and resuming any creed or heresy, as it suited him. He was, as we have seen above, one of the three Bishops deputed by the Semi-Arians to Liberius, and satisfied him as to his faith. “^zHe saw Cyzicus, and returned with another faith.” He imposed even on S. Basil by his seeming love of truth and of souls; accepted the Nicene Creed from S. Basil, with added declarations against the Macedonian heresy;^a and then would not be present at a second Synod^b for the restoration of communion; and became the bitter enemy and slanderer of S. Basil.

In enumerating the variations of Eustathius, S. Basil mentions an Arian Synod at Cyzicus in his own time, which apparently put out a new Creed, of which nothing more is known.^c “To pass on to his Episcopate (omitting what he did meantime) how often did he set forth a new faith! One at Ancyra; another at Seleucia; another the well known Creed at Constantinople; another at Lampsacus; afterwards that at Nice in Thrace; *and now again that at Cyzicus*, of which though I know nothing else, I know this, that, imposing silence as to the ‘Of one Substance,’ he

^y Conc. ii. 423. In the old Latin version, three names are added, Bassianus, Heraclius, and the great Osius. This last is omitted in a manuscript perhaps of the sixth cent. *Ib.* Note. ^z S. Basil Ep. 244. ad. Patroph. §. 5, 6.

^a Ep. 125.

^b Ep. 244. §. 2.

^c *Ib.* fin.

now circulates the 'like as to Substance,' and besides, with Eunomius, writes blasphemies against the Holy Ghost."

The pacification of the Church was one chief object of S. Basil's life, accomplished, except as to the see of Antioch, two years after his decease, by the Council of Constantinople. His great energies were employed in peace-making, whether of the several portions of the Church with one another, or within themselves.

Cæsarea was a city of great political importance. Its Ecclesiastical Exarchate reached over all the provinces, subject to the civil governor of Pontus.^d Armenia was subjected to it. Even in the life-time of S. Basil's predecessor Eusebius, S. Basil, through his Bishop's confidence, virtually governed the Diocese.^e On his own appointment, Valens the Arian Emperor, (to whom the peace of a frontier province was of even more moment than his heresy,) commissioned S. Basil to appoint Bishops in Armenia.^f The suspicions of Theodotus, the metropolitan, "the Bishop who had been appointed as his coadjutor," frustrated this. S. Basil having accepted Eustathius' profession of faith, Theodotus would no longer invite S. Basil to the Synod. The appointment of Bishops therefore was deferred. But in a Synod at Satala, S. Basil reconciled the Bishops of Armenia, and addressed them, "so

^d Vita S. Basil. c. 14. T. iii. p. lxxxiv. 4.

^e "Though in the second order, he was invested with the power of the Church."—S. Greg. Naz. Or. 20. p. 339. "To whom shall we make over the care of the Churches?"—S. Bas. Ep. 29, Eccl. Anc.

^f S. Basil Ep. 99, ad Terent. Com.

that they laid aside their wonted indifference,—and gave them rules for the due care of things, neglected and disordered through their indifference.”

The province of Cappadocia being politically divided, Anthimus, Bishop of Tyana, attempted to gain metropolitan rights for his See. “Synods^g were subtracted by the new Metropolitan.” S. Basil tried to turn evil into good, “strengthening^h his country by an increase of Bishops.” The appointment of S. Gregory of Nazianzum, as Bishop of Sasima, was a part of this plan.ⁱ But “Anthimus^k coming with certain Bishops” tried by coaxing or threats to draw S. Gregory also to acknowledge him. On his refusal, Anthimus summoned him to a Synod. S. Basil finally gave way for peace. On his way to Armenia, he was “about to meet the Bishops of the second Cappadocia,” who, as soon as they belonged to a distinct province, were all at once estranged from him. He *did* meet Eustathius [the turn-about] who accepted his terms. A Synodical letter from certain Bishops, (probably on this matter), failed, through their fault, to reach S. Eusebius. On his return from Armenia, S. Basil again “invited S. Eusebius to come to the Synod,¹ which,” he says, “we hold yearly, on the approaching anniversary of the blessed martyr Eupsychius, Sept. 7. for the appointment of Bishops, and to consider what is plotted against me through the simplicity of Gregory of Nyssa [his brother] who is holding Synods at Ancyra,

^g S. Greg. Naz. Or. 43. §. 58. p. 813.

^k S. Greg. Ep. 33. Basil.

^h Ib. §. 59. p. 814.

¹ Ep. 98. Euseb.

ⁱ Ib.

and omits no way of plotting against us." Atarbius Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea,^m left the Synod in the midst, and was summoned by S. Basil to clear himself from the charge of Sabellianism.

A. D. 373. S. Basil again "came" to Nicopolis, in the hope of correcting the confusion raised there, and of tempering what had been done disorderly, contrary to ecclesiastical rule."

Among other troubles, one Faustus had applied to S. Basil with "letters from a certain Papa^o asking that he should be made a Bishop. But when we asked of him," S. Basil writes to Theodotus,^p Bishop of Nicopolis, "testimonials from your Piety and the other Bishops, he, despising us, went to Anthimus, and having received consecration from him, returned without any notice to us." The appointment filled Armenia with tumult.^q To restore peace S. Basil was ready to overlook the irregularity and the slight, if only Faustus could produce good testimonials. He writes to Pœmenius, Bishop of Satala, "That^r admirable Anthimus, who long ago made peace with us, having found opportunity to satiate his vain-glory, consecrated Faustus of his own authority and with his own hand, not waiting the vote of any of us, and ridiculing my preciseness in such things. In thus confusing the good old order, and despising you too, from whom he should have had testimonials, he has done

^m Ep. 100. Eus.

ⁿ Ep. 126. Atarb. Vit. S. Basil. xxvi. 6.

^o It is doubtful whether this title in this place, designates a Bishop.

^p Ep. 121.

^q Ep. 120. Mel.

^r Ep. 122.

what I cannot think pleasing to God. Being grieved with them then, I gave them no letters to any of the Armenians, nor to your Piety. Nor did I receive Faustus to communion, protesting to him plainly, that unless he should bring me letters from you, I will myself remain estranged from him, and will induce those who agree with me to be so. If these things admit of a cure, send me a written testimonial from yourself, if you see the man's life to be good, and exhort others to do so."

A. D. 373. An expostulation of S. Eusebius drew out from S. Basil an account of his difficulties in remedying the evils of the Church, arising from the coldness or suspiciousness of his suffragan Bishops. He anew excuses himself for his having been "absent^s from the most holy Synod" held by S. Eusebius. Illness had prevented him, "bringing him down to the gates of death." Not through his remissness had the Church been betrayed to her enemies. "The Bishops who communicate with us, either through indolence, or because they suspect me, or through the Devil's opposition to good works, will not help us. Outwardly we are many, the good Bosporius too, [Bishop of Colonia in the second Cappadocia] having joined us, but in truth they drew not with us in any the most necessary thing. What can I do alone? The Canons (as you too know) not conceding such offices to one Bishop. And yet how have I not sought to heal this, and re-

^s Ep. 141. Euseb.

minded them of Judgment, both by letters and when we met! For they came to this city, hearing of my death.^t But since it pleased God that they should find me alive, I spoke to them as befitted. When with me, they respect me, and promise every thing; when they leave, they return to their old mind."

A. D. 374. S. Basil mentions a Synod held at Cæsarea, when "a" great multitude, as is natural, flowed in from all sides." It may have been his yearly Synod, since he does not mention any special object for which it was holden.

In the same year, S. Basil wrote through S. Amphilochius, to a Metropolitan (probably Symposius,^v Bishop of Seleucia) who had written to him, about the restoration of communion. S. Basil asks him to "collect the like-minded Bishops, and to appoint time and place of meeting, that so, by the Grace of God, receiving one another, we may govern the Churches in the ancient form of love, receiving the brethren who come from either side, as our own members, sending them on as to friends and receiving them as from friends. For this was formerly the boast of the Church, that, from one end of the world to the other, the brethren from every Church, provided with little tokens, found all fathers and brethren; whereof, with the rest, the enemy has now despoiled the Church."

A. D. 375. S. Basil, in a letter to Euphronius,^w Bishop of Colonia, mentions "letters which he had

^t To appoint his successor. ^u Ep. 169. Greg. ^v Ep. 191. Amphil. see Ep. 190. fin. Vit. S. Bas. xxxi. 4. ^w Ep. 195. Vit. xxxii. 1.

written to the Bishops of lesser Armenia, (probably a Synod) which he expected to be transmitted to Euphronius.

In the same year S. Basil “went^x as far as Isauria, that, with the Bishops there, he might frame the matters relating to the brethren in Isauria.” S. Amphilochius had consulted him about this, the year before. S. Basil, in answer,^y had praised him for his care, agreed with him, that in itself, “it would be for the advantage of all, that the care should be divided among many Bishops. But since it is not easy to find fit men, there is danger lest, while we wish to gain weight from the number [of Bishops] and to provide that the Church of God be ruled more carefully through the increased number, we should unawares degrade the office through the unfitness of those called to it, and occasion the people to be indifferent.” S. Basil then counselled that “if one approved could be found, he should be set over the city, with the power of joining others with him. Else that it would be better for them first to assign Bishops of the smaller cities or villages, which had formerly been episcopal Sees, and then we will set up the Bishop of the city, lest [if appointed first] he should hinder these arrangements, and we should begin at once with domestic feuds, if he should wish for larger rule and not consent to the consecrations of the Bishops. If time does not admit, your Prudence will assign to the

^x Ep. 216. Melet.

^y Ep. 190. Amphil.

Bishop of Isauria, his own circle, so that he should consecrate those close by ; and it will be reserved to us, at the due time, to assign such Bishops to the rest, as, after long enquiry, we shall judge fittest." This last course appears to have been adopted : for S. Basil, shortly after, advised S. Amphilochius to "appoint^z [in the emergency] a novice, with or without the will of Macedonius." "The^a journey to Pontus succeeded" that to Isauria. Eustathius, whom S. Basil took so much pains to exculpate, had stealthily withdrawn many of the Bishops of Pontus, especially near Dazimon,^b from the communion of S. Basil. S. Basil, "by the judgment of all the Bishops in Cappadocia,^c" wrote to the "Bishops by the sea," entreating them to come to some explanation. "We are ready with uplifted hands to receive you, if you come, and to offer ourselves to a strict enquiry. Only let love preside. Or if you will point out some place among you, where we may discharge our debt of visiting you, and let you make trial of us—be this so." "We," he reminds them, "are the sons of those fathers, who laid down as a law, that the symbols of communion should, by means of little marks, be carried from one end of the world to the other, and that all should be fellow-citizens and kinsmen." "As yet we have suppressed our griefs, being ashamed to repeat to those afar, in communion with us, your alienation from us." He repeats to Elpidius^d the wish, that, "if he thought it good that he

^z Ep. 217. Amphil. (Can. 3.) init.

^b Ep. 203. Episc. Marit. fin.

^a Ep. 216.

^c §. 3.

^d Ep. 205.

should meet his other most reverend brethren, the Bishops by the coast, he would fix time and place. And write to the brethren, that, at the time fixed, each of us, leaving whatever business we have in hand, may do something for the building up of the Church of God, and remove the griefs we now have from our suspicions of one another, and stablish the love, without which the Lord Himself has declared to us, that the observance of any command is imperfect." This meeting S. Basil requested might be, when he should, in his visitation, come to the borders of Comana.^e It was successful.

To the Clergy of Neo-Cæsarea he, in a touching letter, made the same offers, but unsuccessfully. To them he enumerates the number of provinces, with which, through their Bishops, he was in communion. "It^f were more equitable that our case should be judged, not from one or two who do not walk in the truth, but from the multitude of Bishops throughout the world, who, by the grace of God, are joined with us. Let enquiry be made of the Pisidians, Lycaonians, Isaurians, both Phrygias, all the Armenians who are your neighbours, the Macedonians, Achæans, Illyrians, Gallicans, Spaniards, all Italy, the Sicilians, Africans, the sound part of Egypt, whatever remains of Syria, who send letters to us and receive them from us."

In the same year, S. Basil wrote to S. Amphilochius,^g about some Bishops and priests of Lycia, who, he un-

^e Ep. 206.^f Ep. 204. Neocæs. §. 7.^g Ep. 218.

derstood, wished to return to their communion. S. Basil sends the names of four Bishops, and some priests where apparently there were no Bishops, to be sounded before inviting them to meet him.

About the same time he wrote to comfort those of Chalcis, who first felt the "torrent-blaze of persecution," as it was spreading into Cappadocia. He praises their unity. "I^h pray day and night to the eternal King to keep the people in integrity of faith, and the clergy as a sound head over them, giving its due care to the members of the body subject to them. For while the eyes do their part, the hands work skilfully, and the feet stumble not, and no part of the body is deprived of its befitting care. I exhort you then, as ye do and will do, to hold to one another; and you that are entrusted with cure of souls, to hold together individuals, and cherish them as beloved children, and that the people should preserve to you the reverence and honor due to fathers, so that, in the fair condition of the Church, your strength and the firmness of faith in Christ may be preserved, and the name of God be glorified."

Every Bishopric which now fell vacant became a subject of anxiety, the Arian Bishops filling it up with an Arian, if not forestalled by the Church. S. Basil complained A. D. 369. to Eusebius, that Tarsus was in this way lost to the Church. "Tarsusⁱ too is lost to us, and intolerable as this in itself is, it is yet more

^h Ep. 222. Chalce.

ⁱ Ep. 34.

grievous, that so great a city, situated so as to unite the Isaurians, Cilicians, Cappadocians and Syrians, should perish by a mere by-blow of two or three phrenzied men, while you [the Bishops] linger and consult and look at one another.”

At this time Theodotus, Bishop of Nicopolis fell asleep.^k Nicopolis was of the more importance, as being the metropolis of Armenia. Pœmenius^l then and the other Bishops^m of Armenia transferred Euphronius, Bishop of Colonia to it, yet leaving to him his former See, so that he should have the charge of both.ⁿ The clergy of Colonia were unduly vexed at the partial loss of their Bishop, and even threatened to appeal to the courts of justice. S. Basil sought to soothe them, as being themselves best secured by this arrangement. “Think not,” he adds,^o “that this is human counsel, or stirred by the thoughts of worldly-minded men; but be persuaded that they on whom the care of the churches hangs, have done this through their continued union with the Spirit. Receive then peaceably what has been done, being persuaded that they who receive not from those chosen of God what is framed for the churches, resist the ordinance of God.”

Demosthenes, formerly superintendent of the kitchen to Valens, and now vicar of Pontus, was resuming the persecution against the Catholics, which had before been turned away by God’s Providence, when Valens menaced them in person. Demosthenes, “in the midst

^k Ep. 237. Eus. fin.

^l Ep. 229. Cler. Nic.

^m Ep. 228. Col. Mag.

ⁿ Ep. 227 et not. i. Ed. Ben.

^o Ep. 227. Cler. Col.

of winter,^p gathered a Synod of the ungodly [at Ancyra^q] in Galatia, ejected Hypsis [the Bishop] and substituted Ecdicius.—He bade another Synod be collected at Nyssa of [Bishops of] Galatia and Pontus. These coming together, sent to the Churches,” as “Bishop,^r one,—the slave of slaves.” “The^s same band went to Sebastia, to join Eustathius, [whom the Arians themselves had deposed^t] and with him to turn things at Nicopolis upside down.”

Demosthenes then first “tried to persuade them to receive Eustathius, and in him to receive a Bishop.

When he saw that they would not give in of their own will, he tried to institute the Bishop assigned to them with a strong hand. “There are also,” adds S. Basil, “some rumours of a Synod, to which they purpose to call me, to receive me into their communion, or to use their wont,” [i. e. have him banished on his refusal to join them.]

As an earnest of the reconciliation of the Bishops of Pontus, he invited them, A. D. 376, to resume their ancient custom of visiting the Church at Cæsarea annually at the festival of the Martyrs S. Euppsychius and S. Damas. “Great gain,^u” says S. Basil, “is set before you, among a people seeking to be edified by you.”

This was the last Council at which it appears that S. Basil was present. S. Amphilochius, in a Synodical letter from a Council at Iconium, says, “We^v had

^p Ep. 237. Eus.

^q Ep. 226. §. 2. Monachis.

^r Ep. 239. Eus.

^s See ab. p. 255.

^t Ep. 237.

^u Ep. 252. Pont. Ep.

^v S. Amphiloch. Synod. in Coteler. Eccl. Gr. Mon. ii. 100. Conc. ii. 1075.

hoped to receive in person in our Synod that most admirable Bishop, Basil, to be mentioned with all reverence, and to have him as the partner or rather as guide of the letter to you. But since an exceeding bodily illness has prevented his coming, it belongs to your perfect love not to overlook our lowliness. Nor could we, by any neglect of ours, leave your holy Church without share in his words; but having his work written especially on the subject, [the Divinity of God the Holy Ghost] we have him too speaking together with us in that writing." The epistle was written apparently to a Synod. For it speaks of the letters which it answers, as evidencing "the zeal of good shepherds," who had met together from a distance, and consequently were not the presbyters of any town or district. "The fact that ye made no account of the length of way, nor proposed your questions separately, but enquired in common by your letters, has made us very hopeful, that as ye wrote in harmony, so ye will also receive our answers in harmony; and we have received your concord, as expressed by your letters, as the prelude of more perfect concord." The question apparently was, why any fuller confession was required on the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, beyond that of the Nicene Creed. The answer was, that the Council of Nice had only to meet the heresy of Arius. "We acknowledge," they say, "the holy Synod of the fathers at Nice, as a truly Catholic and Apostolic Synod, and we keep unshaken the Creed set forth by the Fathers there, and pray

that it may remain unmoved for ever. Then, it became necessary for the fathers to expound more fully the glory of the Only Begotten, since they had then to nip the heresy of Arius in its birth—the question as to the Spirit not being then mooted. So then they added no fuller statement. For an intelligent reader the teaching of that Creed on the Spirit sufficed. For they taught that we must believe in the Holy Spirit in the same way as in the Father and the Son, neither introducing any other nature into the Divine and Blessed Trinity, nor cutting off aught from the Trinity. But since of late, Satan, essaying to shake the Churches, has infused doubts on the Spirit into certain persons, we must needs recur to the fountain of Faith, whence also the fathers at Nice drew in setting forth the exposition of Faith, i. e. our Lord's words, 'baptising them in the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost,' which exclude the disease of Sabellius, in that the three Persons are clearly delivered to us, and shut the mouths of the Anomœans and Arians, and of the enemies of the Spirit, in that the three Persons are pointed out, and One Nature and Godhead confessed."

The tone of the letter is to equals, of whom the writers had heard by report only;^x so that it is a probable conjecture, that those addressed were Bishops,^y

^w p. 101.

^x "Even before we received the letters from your love, reports had come round to us, telling us of the purity of your faith and firmness in danger, and endurance in suffering for Christ, and love towards God." *Ib. Init.*

^y Tillemont *S. Amphiloque* Art. v. T. ix. 624. The Benedictine Editors of *S. Basil* think that they were priests. *Vit. S. Bas.* xxxviii. p. clxix.

opposed to and persecuted by the Arians, but more or less perplexed by the rising heresy of Macedonius.

The suspicion of favoring Sabellianism, under which the Westerns lay,^z was aggravated by the acquittal of Marcellus, together with S. Athanasius, at the Council of Sardica. S. Basil's declaration against Marcellus, communicated by him to S. Athanasius ^a himself, probably induced Marcellus, about A. D. 371. to send a deacon to a Synod held by S. Athanasius. The petition, delivered by Eugenius a deacon, sets forth, "The ^bClergy and the rest in Ancyra of Galatia, gathered together with our father Marcellus, sent us to your Piety, having commendatory letters from the Bishops of Greece and Macedonia." Marcellus, in this petition, treated the accusations as calumny, anathematized the heresies of Arius and Sabellius, Paul of Samosata and Photinus, but did not touch on his own heresy, that the Manhood of our Lord would not exist after the day of Judgement, or that His reign would end. In conclusion, he prays S. Athanasius, "we ^c entreat your Piety no longer to believe what is said against us, but rather to signify this to those who sent us, and to write to those whom you know to be orthodox Bishops, that even if the calumny against us has reached them, they, knowing this our confession, may condemn those who wish to stir up odium against us."

^z see ab. p. 246.

^a Ep. 69. §. 2. Athan.

^b Montfauc. Coll. Nov. ii. 1. Conc. ii. 1049.

^c S. Ath. Conc. Arim. p. 110. n. r. O. T.

The exposition of faith is countersigned by four Egyptian Bishops, of whom one, Plenes Bishop of Hermothi, had been banished by the Arians A. D. 356.; Ischyriion, Bishop of Leontopolis, had defended S. Athanasius in the Synod of Tyre; Isaac had perhaps been one of the Bishops of the Council of Sardica. The name of S. Athanasius himself does not appear. It can hardly have been lost, as others may have been at the end, since he would have signed the first. He had written at length against Marcellus, although without naming him.^d Marcellus' disclaimers, in this memorial, hardly touch on any point of *his* form of Sabellianism. It seems an evasive statement, framed to avoid condemning his own form of heresy. The absence of S. Athanasius' name is unaccounted for. The memorial is addressed to him; it is countersigned by others. It seems unlikely that the acute mind of S. Athanasius, having been already drawn to consider this heresy, should have accepted this statement; it can hardly be assumed, in the absence of any proof. Perhaps he was already with God. Marcellus died about the same time, A. D. 372.^e

After his death, some of his disciples applied to eight Egyptian Bishops, banished for the faith to Neo-Cæsarea,^f presented to them letters of ^g communion from S. Athanasius, (as they alleged,) and were admitted to communion by the confessors. S. Basil,

^d see Introd. to S. Ath. Orat. iv. ag. Arians. §. 2. p. 504. sqq. O. T.

^e Two years before S. Epiphanius wrote his adv. Hær. lxxi. Init.

^f S. Epiph. l. c. §. 10.

^g Ep. 265. Eulog. fin.

in his letter of enquiry, tells the Bishops that they were “not alone in the East, but had many [Bishops] on the same side, who maintained the sound faith of the Nicene Fathers, and all those in the West agree with us and you. All who are in the same communion with you, ought to be fully satisfied, that so what is done may be settled the more firmly by the agreement of many, and peace may not be disturbed, while, on the reception of some, others stand apart. So steadily and gently ought ye to counsel about things which affect all the Churches throughout the world.—God grant that we may all meet together, that, ordering all things with you to the well-being of the Churches of God, we may, with you, receive the reward laid up by the righteous Judge for good and wise stewards.”

In a second letter to Peter, the successor of S. Athanasius in the See of Alexandria, he says, “Having^h often been importuned by the Galatians [Marcellians], I could not give them any answer, awaiting your judgments. And now, if the Lord grant, and they will bear with us, we hope to bring the people to the Church, so that we should not be taunted with joining the Marcellians, but that *they* become members of the body of the Church of God.”

Paulinus, who disputed the See of S. Meletius, was, S. Basil says,ⁱ “inclined to the doctrines of Marcellus and admitted indiscriminately his followers to com-

^h Ep. 266. Pet. §. 1.

ⁱ Ep. 263. Occid. §. 3.

munion." Apollinaris had consecrated Vitalis, his disciple, as Bishop over a third section at Antioch,^k rejecting Paulinus as a Sabellian.¹ After S. Epiphanius had cleared Paulinus, and at length brought Vitalis to disclose his heresy,^m Timothy, who had obtained from S. Athanasius commendatory letters to Damasus, and had been received by him,ⁿ and "obtained^o letters of commendation as to a Bishop," anathematized S. Peter of Alexandria, S. Basil, Paulinus, S. Epiphanius, and Diodorus.^p He "gave^q himself out to be a Bishop, that he might work mischief with more impunity." He was probably one of the Bishops whom Apollinaris "sent^r to divide the Churches governed by Orthodox Bishops," "wandering about without either people or clergy." Yet Eustathius, Marcellus, Vitalis, Timotheus, had all imposed on Bishops of Rome and of the West, where they were less known; as Pelagius, afterwards, obtained an acquittal at the Synod of Diospolis, after being condemned in Africa and at Rome. S. Basil, therefore, applied to the Westerns to undo their act, and use their influence with Paulinus, at least with regard to Marcellus. He says that "the wolves in sheep's clothing did more injury to the simple than the direct and unblushing heresy of the Arians."^s "We beg then your Carefulness to

^k Soz. vi. 25.

¹ S. Epiph. Hær. 77. §. 20. S. Epiphanius had gone to Antioch to reconcile Vitalis and Paulinus. He has preserved a confession of faith against Sabellianism and Apollinarianism drawn up in S. Athanasius' own hand and subscribed by Paulinus. §. 21.

^m Ib. §. 22, 23.

ⁿ Fac. Def. 3. Capp. vii. 3. B. P. x. 55. ^o Leontius adv. fraud. Apollin. fin. B. P. ix. 712. ^p Ep. Pet. Alex. fragm. ap. Fac. iv. 2. p. 31. ^q Id. Ib.

^r S. Bas. Ep. 265. Eulog. §. 2.

^s Ep. 263. Occid. §. 2.

write publicly to all the Bishops in the East, that they either in sincerity walk aright with us, or, abiding in their perversion, keep their mischief to themselves, not, through unguarded communion, imparting their own disease to their neighbours. I must mention them by name, that ye may yourselves know those who work confusion among us, and may make it plain to our Churches. For what *we* say, is suspected by many, as though, from some private grudge, we indulged a petty feeling towards them. But ye, inasmuch as ye live far off, have the more credit with the people, besides that the grace of God will help you in succouring the distressed. But if many of you with one accord together decree the same thing, plainly the multitude of those who decree, will make the reception of the thing decreed irrefragable by any." Then having spoken on each of the heretics, Eustathius, Apollinaris, and Marcellus, and that Paulinus received the Marcellians into communion, he concludes: "These are the things for which we ask your care, if ye would be so good as to write to all the Churches in the East, that they who misaffirm these things, if corrected, should communicate; but if they *will* contumaciously abide in their innovations, should be separated from the Churches. We are not indeed ignorant that we ought to undertake these things, sitting in council with your Prudence, and considering them together. But since time allows not, and delay is hurtful, in that the hurt from them would root itself, we were obliged to send the brethren to you, that they, informing you

from themselves of any thing which may have escaped us in writing, may stir up your Pieties to give to the Churches of God the aid we ask for."

S. Peter of Alexandria was now at Rome. S. Athanasius, at the close of his forty-eight years of toil from the Council of Nice, nominated him, as his successor,^t A. D. 373. All classes joined in his choice. "The neighbouring Bishops hastened to meet," as did the Monks, and set him in the chair of Athanasius. He was immediately assaulted by the heathen governor Palladius, with a hired band of Heathen and Jews, and after a time^u escaped by sea to Rome, probably in the hope of averting by his retirement the horrible persecution which had fallen on every age and sex of his people.^v The persecutions were fomented and continued by the Arian Lucius, whom Euzoius brought with him "not^w elected in a Synod of Orthodox Bishops, nor by the vote of the true Clergy, nor at the request of the people, as the laws of the Church prescribe," and who had been "often condemned by the Orthodox Bishops every where." Peter of Alexandria then remained at Rome, until the death of Valens,^x and returned to Egypt, shortly before his own departure, when the Alexandrians drove out Lucius and

^t Theod. iv. 21.

^u He must have remained in concealment for some time; for the Deacon who announced his election to Damasus, brought back from him "letters of consolation and communion" to Peter, as being still in Egypt. Ib. 22.

^v Ib. 21. 22. ^w Pet. Al. Ib. c. 22. ^x S. Jerome (Chron.) says that Valens recalled the Orthodox from banishment, repenting when too late, just before the war with the Goths in which he perished; Socrates says, that the restoration did not take effect until after his death. Both may be true.

replaced Peter.^y He exercised his office in his exile, and wrote to the eleven Egyptian Bishops, in exile in Palestine, who had received the Marcellians to communion, exhorting^z them not to part with love, yet to wait until “things could be amended by those who could, according to Ecclesiastical rule, heal what was amiss.” He willed them not to use individual authority, in what affected the whole Church.

The letter then of S. Basil to the Westerns, probably occasioned the Synod which first condemned Apollinaris by name, and, with him, his disciple Timotheus.

“Damasus^a Bishop of Rome, and Peter Bishop of Alexandria, having learned that this heresy of Apollinaris was stealing in among many, a Synod being called at Rome, first declared it alien from the Catholic Church.” The Apollinarians “gave out that they had been received by the Western Synod, by which they were condemned.” “Let them shew this,” says S. Gregory Naz.,^b “either by a Synodical tome, or by letters of communion. For this is the law of Synods.”

Damasus held yet another Council, A. D. 378, in the case of Ursinus and other Bishops who, having been condemned by the Church and banished by the Emperors, retained their Sees in despite of both. The Council applied for redress to the Emperors Valentinian and Gratian, after the death of Valens and before the elevation of Theodosius. The Epistle is written by a Council of “almost^c numberless Bishops

^y Socr. iv. 37.

^z S. Bas. Ep. 266. Pet.

^a Soz. vi. 25. Ruf. ii. 20. add Theod. v. 10.

^b Ep. i. ad. Cledon. init.

^c Ep. Conc. Rom. ad Grat. et Valent. Conc. ii. 1187. post Conc. Aquil.

gathered from far-distant parts of Italy.” They thank the Emperors, that they had nothing to ask, but what they had already granted. “For from the beginning, in order to re-unite the body of the Church, which the rage of Ursinus, endeavouring to gain an honour not due to him, had divided, you enacted that, when you had condemned the author, and rent away from union with that miscreant those whom he had associated with himself in sedition, the Roman Bishop should enquire as to the other Bishops of the Church, [i. e. the neighbouring^d Bishops involved in this sedition of Ursinus,] so that the Pontiff of religion with his colleagues should judge of religion, and no injury could seem to be done to the Episcopate, if the Bishops should never be subjected to the will of a profane judge, as might readily happen. For how many, whom civil judgments absolved, have been notoriously condemned by Bishops, and those whom civil judgments condemned have been absolved!—But since Ursinus, although long ago [A. D. 374] banished by the judgment of your Clemency, solicits in secret the most worthless persons, through those whom he unlawfully and sacrilegiously ordained; and by his example certain Bishops, who wrongly occupy their Sees—harass people, not to acquiesce in the judgment of the Roman Bishop, so that even those who know that they have been or should be deservedly condemned, hiring a mob, affright their judges with terror of death, and despising or cha-

^d Blondel de la Primauté p. 163. too so understands it.

sing away their judges, retain an unlawful Episcopate; we ask not for any new enactments, but for the maintenance of the old. The Bishop of Parma, deposed by our judgment, shamelessly retains his See. In like way, Florentius of Puteoli, who, after he had been deposed, upon appealing to your Serenity, received the Rescript which he deserved, that, if he had been deposed by the judgment of Bishops in the city of Rome, he ought not even to let his voice be heard in civil courts—he, now, six years afterwards, has stolen back to the city, occupied the church and lawlessly stirred up many seditions in the town of Puteoli, from which he was deposed. In Africa too, your Clemency bade Restitutus plead his cause before Bishops. He ought to have acquiesced; but, by aid of a savage band of miscreants, escaped all need of pleading his cause. Throughout Africa, ye commanded the sacrilegious Anabaptists [Donatists] to be expelled; but the expelled have ordained Claudius, and destined him, as a Bishop, to disturb the city of Rome. He, against the commands of Divine Scripture, against the laws of the Gospel, says that all Bishops past or present were without sacraments, or in his own word, ‘pagans.’ Whom your Serenity commanded to be expelled from Rome, and return to his country. But he, setting the courts at nought, although often apprehended, still resides, bribing oftentimes the poorer, and shrinks not from re-baptising them when bribed. He rather despoils them of what they had obtained [Baptism,] than bestows on them what plainly cannot be bestowed

twice. Lastly the faction of Ursinus has so far succeeded, that, suborning Isaac a Jew, (who returning to the Synagogue profaned the heavenly mysteries,) our holy brother Damasus' life was aimed at, innocent blood was shed, a plot was laid (which the forethought of your Piety met with a truly divine instinct) the Church was nearly despoiled of all mysteries. His fraud was this, that while he who had been made judge of all, was pleading his cause, there should be^e no one to judge of the lapsed or of factious invaders of the Episcopate. Since then the innocence of our fore-mentioned brother Damasus has been approved by the judgment of your Serenity; and Isaac himself, when he could not prove his allegations, has received his deserts,^f we, that we may not trouble your Clemency by bringing so many causes before you, beseech your Piety to vouchsafe to order, that whoever shall be condemned either by the judgment of him [Damasus] or of us who are Catholics, and *will* unjustly retain his Church, or being summoned by Episcopal judgment will, through contumacy, not attend, may either be brought to Rome at the writ of the illustrious men the Prefects of the Prætorium of your Italy, or by the Vicars; or if such question should arise in more distant parts, let it be referred to the Metropolitan by the local civil judges, or, if it relate to a Metropolitan, let him be enjoined to go forthwith to Rome, or to

^e By the Emperor, as above p. 277. and shortly below p. 281. The context relates to Rome only.

^f Being banished into Spain by the Emperor.

those whom the Bishop of Rome shall assign as judges. But let those who shall be deposed, be removed from the precincts of that city only, wherein they have exercised the Episcopate, that they may not shamelessly resume what has been lawfully taken from them. In case that a Metropolitan or any other Bishop should be suspected of undue favor or prejudice, let it be lawful to appeal to the Bishop of Rome or to a Council of fifteen neighbouring Bishops. But let not our forementioned brother Damasus, since in his own cause he bears the stamp of your acquittal, be inferior to those, whom he, being equal in office, surpasses by the prerogative of an Apostolic See, nor let him be subjected to public civil judgments, from which your law^a has exempted Bishops. In whose case, sentence having been already given, he does not seem to decline the judgment of the court, but to claim the honour bestowed by you. For, as relates to the laws of the state, what life can be more guarded, than one which,^b having been tried, rests upon your Clemency?"

The Council mentions further, that Damasus "had subjected himself to the stricter judgments of Bishops, by whom not the single charge, but the whole character is weighed," and they request the Emperor that he would himself have any charge sifted. "Thus, no abandoned or infamous persons would have any lawless power of accusing the chief Priestⁱ or bearing witness

^a Passed A.D. 376.

^b I have read *quæ* for *qua*.

ⁱ *Summus Sacerdos* is the title of every Bishop. See Tert. de Bapt. c. 17, and many others in Blondel *Primaute* sect. iv. p. 34. Isidore of Seville A. D.

against him." In this, "he does not ask any thing new, but follows the example of our ancestors, that the Roman Bishop, if his cause is not entrusted to a Council, should defend himself before the Imperial Council. For Silvester too the Pope, being accused by sacrilegious persons, maintained his own cause before your father Constantine. And Scripture furnishes like instances, as when the holy Apostle was oppressed by the Governor, he appealed to Cæsar and was sent to Cæsar."

The "rescript^k of Gratian to Aquilinus, Vicar of Rome," echoes and enforces what the Council had requested. The Emperor directs that those whom "the Councils of the holy Bishops should shew by consent, to be fomenting disturbance, like" those which had happened, should "be banished one hundred miles from the spot." He extends the operation of the law to Gaul alone, beyond the provinces of Italy; and allows the judgment of Damasus to have the civil sanction proposed, but only if "given together with five or seven Bishops." Cases in the provinces were to be determined by the Metropolitan; unless the Metropolitan were suspected of partiality, in which case the accused was allowed to appeal to fifteen Bishops of a neighbouring province or to the Bishop of Rome. The cause of Metropolitans alone was to be referred directly to Rome, or to judges appointed by its Bishop.

595, still gives "Summus Sacerdos" and Pontifex Maximus as titles of all Bishops. Etymol. vii. 12. 13. The title was forbidden in Africa by the third Council of Carthage. c. 26.

^k Conc. ii. 1190.

The law has, throughout, reference to Damasus who was then in the eleventh year of his Episcopate, and was still harassed by the adherents of Ursinus.

The law of the elder Valentinian, referred to by the Roman Council, was pleaded to the younger Valentinian by S. Ambrose.¹

A law of Gratian was directed [A. D. 376] to a Synod, four of whose Bishops are named, "and to the other Bishops" generally. It runs; "The^m practice in civil causes is to be retained in ecclesiastical also. If anything should arise, relating to the observance of religion, of dissensions or slight offences, let them be heard in their own places and by the Synods of their diocese." Criminal causes were to be reserved to "the ordinary or extraordinary judges or the illustrious Powers."

It remains to mention some detached Councils of this period, which have been omitted, as less, or not at all, connected with the line of events which ended in the Council of Constantinople.

The Council of Valence is celebrated for the great Bishops present at it. S. Phœbadius is mentioned first in its Synodical letter, as having presided probably on account of his eminence, as Hosius had, and S. Basil says of Mysonius, Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea; "in" the conventions of those of like power [Bishops] he was counted worthy of precedence, not according

¹ Ep. xxi. §. 2. see Ancient Precedents, p. 18.

^m Cod. Theod. leg. 23. de Episc. Conc. ii. 1073.

ⁿ Ep. 28. Neo-Cæs.

to his age, but as above all in the ancientness of wisdom, receiving by common consent the meed of presidency." Besides him were S. Florentius, perhaps S. Paul of Tricastin, S. Justus of Lyons, S. Eortius, Britton of Treves, a Confessor, and S. Concordius.^o The names of twenty-two Bishops^p are preserved, as having been present; twenty-one names are prefixed to the Synodical letters; nineteen subscriptions only remain, but these contain the name of a Bishop, not so prefixed. The first Epistle is addressed "to our most beloved brethren, the Bishops throughout the Gauls and the five provinces." It was assembled to still some dissension, and, this effected, the Bishops took occasion of their meeting to frame four Canons. "All things being transacted at Valence, and what had been commenced on account of the division, being in the name of God composed, and in an improved state, some of the brethren suggested piously and profitably, that we should consider the following things which we can neither admit, for the holiness of the Church, nor yet, on account of the received custom, condemn." On one remarkable Canon the Council had to act, while yet sitting. Many in order to avoid being ordained Bishops, Priests, or Deacons, accused themselves falsely of some deadly sin. The Council enacted that no one who so accused himself could be

^o See Tillemont *S. Just.* viii. 554-7.

^p Conc. ii. 1067-9. One old MS. mentions that there were thirty Bishops. The name of S. Phœbadius does not appear among the subscriptions, although prefixed to both letters, and in an Index of Synods he is said to have been chief author of the Canons. *Ib.* Not. 1.

ordained, as having borne false witness against himself, and for fear of scandal. The Council wrote a second letter to the Clergy and people of Frejus, that they could make no exception in their favor, although Concordius, a Bishop at the Council, gave testimony to the person of Acceptus (whom they all desired to have as a Bishop) as being "a wise and Christian man."

In Africa, a Council of Carthage, the first whose Canons were inserted in the Code of the African Church, and afterwards received by the whole Church, was held under S. Gratus, shortly after the Council of Sardica, and in the reign of Constans. It was the sequel of many Councils held to heal the distractions of the Donatists, soon after Paulus and Macarius^q had been sent by Constans to bring back the Donatists. Peace was for the time restored, although the kindness and liberality at first employed was mixed with severity, after the attack on the Roman soldiery by the Circumcelliones, instigated by Donatus of Bagai. The Council was thankful for the restored unity.

The preface of the Council runs, "when^r Gratus Bishop of Carthage, had sat down in Council, together with his colleagues, and those who came from different provinces of Africa to Carthage" [Bishops, of whom ten^s are named], and the rest, whose hands are here contained. The same Bishop, Gratus said, 'Thanks be to Almighty God, and Christ Jesus Who put an end to the evils of schism, and looked upon His Church,

^q Opt. de Schism. Don. iii. 4. ^r Conc. ii. 757.

^s Nine more names occur in the Canons which they proposed.

so as to raise up all her dispersed members into her bosom, and commanded the most religious Emperor Constans to have a care for unity, and send as ministers of the holy work, the servants of God, Paulus and Macarius. We have then been gathered into unity by the will of God, that through divers provinces we might hold Councils, and to-day a Council of the whole Province of Africa might, by the grace of God, meet at Carthage. Wherefore do ye consider, with my poor self, those necessary subjects, whereof we, mindful of the Divine commands and the authority of Holy Scripture, and having regard to this season of unity, must needs so enact as to each, that Carthage may not infringe the vigor of the law, and yet may not, at the time of unity, prescribe any thing harsh." Gratus himself proposed the four first Canons and the last; the nine remaining were suggested by nine other Bishops, but are supported by Gratus. The other Bishops expressed their consent to each Canon separately; "All the Bishops said;" "they all said." The first Canon was directed against the Donatist Anabaptism; the second against their false martyrs; the third and fourth against the mulieres subintroductæ. The fifth forbade that laymen from another diocese should be ordained by the Bishop without leave of his own, or the clerk of another Bishop be received. The seventh Canon forbade that either clerk or layman should communicate in any other diocese without letters from his own Bishop. Gratus said, 'unless this be observed, com-

munion will become indiscriminate. For if he be received with letters, harmony will be maintained among Bishops ; and no deceitful person, leaving the communion of one, can come stealthily to another.' All said, 'Thou providest for all, and consultest for clergy and laity.'" The other Canons relate to the clergy. Canon xi. directed that in causes of Clerks against Clerks, whether in faults of pride or any other offences, a Deacon should be heard before three neighbouring Bishops, a Presbyter before six ; a Bishop before twelve of his fellow-Bishops.

In the Council itself allusion is made to other previous Councils, whether of more or less extent. The Bishop of Adrumetum said, "It^t was enacted in our Council [one at Adrumetum] that clerks should not exact money on usury." On the second Canon, the Bishops said, "This too was enacted in the several Councils." Gratus recommended the third on the ground ; "This then both the law commands, and your holiness commands, as has been enacted in the several Councils." In summing up, Gratus states incidentally that Anabaptism had already been condemned in several Councils. "I believe that you remember that in many Councils our fathers both condemned the rash tradition, and enacted that the impiety of Anabaptism was to be punished, which things I believe have now by our Council been brought to a close." The Bishops finally enacted, that "any one who set these or the former Canons at nought,

^t Can. 13.

if a layman, should be deprived of communion, if a clerk, of his rank." Gratus the Bishop summed up, "It remains that what we have all agreed upon, and what, upon your consent, has been set down in writing, ye should confirm with your subscription also. They all said, 'The minutes of this Council attest our consent, and our consent shall also be declared by our subscription.' And they subscribed."

The remaining African Councils of this period were Donatist. Those who had not returned to the Church, after the repeated acquittals of Cæcilian,^u by the selected Bishops at Rome, by the Council of Arles, and on the final appeal to Constantine, had no plea for themselves, unless they condemned the Church. They adopted, accordingly, their peculiar heresy, that the Sacraments are invalid, if "v ministered by evil men," and maintained consequently that they were invalid as administered by Cæcilian, or by those who communicated with him, and hence denied the existence of the Church except within their own body, and maintained that Scripture too spoke of the Church, as existing (as they said) only in the South. They re-baptised those who came to them, as Heathen, so that in order to receive Donatist Baptism, those who went over to them had to deny that they were Christians. The Donatists were uniform only in their hatred of the Church. As early as A. D. 333, Tychonius, a distinguished Bishop among them, relates that, in consequence of the repugnance of many

^u see ab. p. 97. sqq.

^v Art. xxvi.

to be re-baptised, a Council was held of two hundred and seventy Donatist Bishops, in which, "the ^w question having been discussed for seventy-five days, to the exclusion of all other matters, it was decreed that those who who had given up the Scriptures, guilty, as they were, of an exceeding sin, should, if unwilling to be baptised, be admitted to communion, as innocent." In consequence of this, "he [Tychonius] says that Deuterius, Donatist Bishop of Macrian, gathered a multitude of Traditors, and united them with the Church, and, according to the decrees of that Council, held by your two hundred and seventy Bishops, made unity with the Traditors; and that, after he had so done, Donatus communicated with that Deuterius, and not with him alone, but with all the Bishops of the Moors for forty years, who, he said, down to the persecution made by Macarius, communicated with Traditors without baptising them."

About A. D. 348, Constans, probably at the wish of S. Gratus, sent Paul and Macarius into Africa, to appease, if possible, the Donatists. They brought with them very large alms, "^x almost treasures," for the relief of the poor, called them over one by one, and exhorted them to unity.^y Donatus, Bishop at Carthage, refused them angrily.^z Donatus of Bagai hired troops of Circumcelliones against them. These Circumcelliones infested the ways, hindered the payment of creditors, made masters slaves and slaves mas-

^w S. Aug. Ep. 93. ad Vincent. §. 43.

^x Opt. iii. 4.

^y Ib. init.

^z c. 3.

ters. "The ^a Donatist Bishops, when brought into odium about them, are said to have written to Count Taurinus, 'that such men could not be corrected in the Church, and bade that they should receive discipline from the Count.'" *Now*, this Donatus employed them. Macarius asked for an escort. Some of the escort were maltreated by the Donatists. The rest avenged them. Donatus and Marculus (a presbyter, some say a Bishop^b) perished. The Donatists said that Marculus was cast headlong from a rock. S. Augustine had "heard ^c that he cast himself down, which," he says, "is more probable, than that any Roman officer could command this, too foreign from Roman laws; whereas, among so many heresies afloat under the Christian name, this is peculiar to yours." The Donatists represented Marculus as a martyr, sent from a Donatist Council. "Macarius, the worst of these two beasts," says a contemporary Donatist,^d "having long, in other provinces, attempted through subtlety this work of blood, exhibited, in Numidia and towards the glorious Marculus, open tokens of barbarian cruelty and unheard-of ferocity. For when the most holy band of most ancient fathers and the united Council of Bishops, sent ten approved Bishops of their number on an embassy, either by healthful warnings, to recall them from such great sin, or (as

^a c. 4. ^b The author of the *Passio Marculi* speaks of him, as, "gleaming with Sacerdotal honor;" commonly the Episcopate.

^c c. Cresc. iii. 49. see Hom. xi. in S. Joh. fin. p. 179, 80. and note d. O. T.

^d *Passio Marculi* in Mabillon Vett. Anal. p. 182. quoted by Mansi Suppl. Conc. p. 218.

happened) themselves to be the first in the field of faith, the care of our noble Pastors was so guided by God, that the cruelty which threatened our sheep, first mangled *their* frames."

A. D. 349. After the Council under Gratus had prohibited those whom, having fallen amid their excesses, the Donatists accounted martyrs, from being buried with the true Martyrs, the Donatists enacted that their burying places should be marked by "whitened^e altars or tables."

A. D. 363. The Donatist Bishops sought with flattery their restoration from the Apostate Julian. They recovered the Basilicas amid bloodshed, which in one place two Donatist Bishops urged on. "Primosus, the Catholic Bishop of the place, complained of this at your Council at Thenæ," says the historian,^f "and ye heard his complaint unheeding."

Tychonius, a Donatist, was brought by the force of Holy Scripture to acknowledge that the Church was to be spread throughout the world, and so attacked the very central heresy of Donatism, that the sins of individuals could destroy the Church. Parmenian and the more consistent Donatists attempted first to bring him back, and "afterwards," S. Augustine says, "[Parmenian, or 'they']"^g report that he was condemned by their Council."

The Donatist Bishops were ashamed of the self-

^e Opt. iii. 4.

^f Ib. ii. 18.

^g c. Ep. Parmen. i. 1. Tillemont (Notes 31, 32.) suggests "perhibent" for perhibet: the n being marked in MSS. only by a line.

murders of the Circumcelliones, and endeavoured in vain to check them. "What profits it," S. Augustine asks Cresconius,^h "that, as you have mentioned, your Bishops boast that in their Councils they have prohibited and condemned this, whereas so many rocks and precipices are daily defiled by slaughter, after that teaching of Marculus?"

The Novatian Bishops too held a Synod in the time of Valens, about the keeping of Easter. "A few Bishops of the Novatians in Phrygia and but little known, having gathered a Synod at Pazus a village, made a rule, to keep Easter when the Jews keep the Passover." "But^k neither Agellius, Bishop of the Novatians at Constantinople, nor the Bishops of Nice, Nicomedia or Cotyaeium, whom the Novatians look upon as lords and rulers of the things done in their heresy and Churches, took part herein."

Sabbatius, a converted Jew, ordained Presbyter by Marcian, the Novatian Bishop at Constantinople, took occasion of this decree, to promote his own object of gaining the Episcopate among them. "^l Marcian convened a Synod of Novatian Bishops at Sangarum. When met, they send for Sabbatius, and bade him explain the causes of his grief to the Synod:—They in the Synod, suspecting that it was but a pretext, out of a desire for the see, bind him by an oath never to accept the Episcopate. When he had taken it, they promulgate a Canon about Easter,

^h c. Cresc. iii. 49.

ⁱ Socr. iv. 28.

^k Soz. vi. 24.

^l Ib. vii. 12.

which they call 'the indifferent,' saying that it was no sufficient ground for the division of the Church." The Canon was, "that each should keep Easter according to the custom which he preferred ; but that there should be no difference as to communion, those who kept the feast differently being in the harmony of the Church."

Sabbatius, subsequently, broke his oath, inducing some obscure persons to lay hands upon him.^m

In Spain, about A. D. 379, the heresies of the Gnostics and Manichees were revived and spread by Priscillian. "Theⁿ defilement of other heresies were poured in upon them, as into a drain, in horrible confusion." They denied the Trinity and the Incarnation ; dissolved marriage when they could ; were outwardly ascetics, in secret unboundedly licentious. "Marc,^o a native of Memphis first brought it from Egypt into Spain. His hearers were one Agape, of good family, and Elpidius a rhetorician. By these Priscillian was instructed, in family noble, in wealth most rich, acute, restless, eloquent, learned through much reading, most ready in disputing ; happy, had he not by perverse will spoiled a most excellent mind ! Manifold goods had he of body and mind ; he could watch long, endure hunger and thirst ; desireless of having, most sparing in using. But he was most vain, puffed up unduly with profane knowledge.

^m Soer. v. 21.

ⁿ S. Aug. Hær. 70. T. viii. 22. see Conc. Brac. i. S. Leo Ep. 15. ad Turib.

^o Sulp. ii. 46, 7.

He was even believed to have practised magic from his youth. When he had entered on this pernicious doctrine, he enticed many nobles and others of his countrymen by persuasion and flattery. Women too longing for novelty, with unsteady faith, and over-curious minds, flocked to him in crowds. For with an air and shew of humility, he had inspired all with reverence for him. The contagion of his faithlessness had gradually pervaded most of Spain ; some even of the Bishops had been seduced ; among whom Instantius and Salvian had not only received Priscillian, but joined in conspiracy with him, until Hyginus, Bishop of Cordova, being in the vicinity, referred what he had discovered to Idacius, Bishop of Merida. He, harassing Instantius and his companions unduly and unmeasuredly, added fuel to the rising fire, exasperating the bad rather than checking them. So then, after many memorable conflicts, a Synod was held at Saragossa [A. D. 380] where the Bishops of Aquitaine too were present. The heretics did not venture to stand the trial ; sentence was passed on the absent ; Instantius and Salvian Bishops, Elpidius and Priscillian laymen, were condemned. It was added, that if any received into communion those condemned, the same sentence should lie against them. Ithacius, Bishop of [Estoy^p] was commissioned to make known to all the decree of the Bishops, and especially to excommunicate Hyginus, who, having been the first to proceed against the

^p Ossobonensi, a conjecture for Sossutubensi.

heretics, afterwards, being foully perverted, had received them into communion."

The names of twelve Bishops only are mentioned. "On^a October 4, the Bishops, Fitadius [S. Phœbadius] [S.] Delphin [of Bourdeaux] &c. sitting in the Sacristy at Saragossa, all said, ' Let the sentence be recited ;' Lucius, Bishop, read." The Canons all bear upon the Priscillianists.^r The Bishops anathematise women, who, on pretence of learning or teaching, assembled with the husbands of others : those who fasted on the Lord's day and in the Christmas season, as denying the Incarnation, and on the Lord's Day, reverencing the sun ; private assemblies, on account of the immoralities ; and those who took the Holy Eucharist without really receiving It. They also forbid clerks to become mere monks out of vanity, or unauthorised persons to take the name of Doctor, or virgins to take the veil before forty, or Bishops to receive those excommunicated by other Bishops. Lucius, having recited each canon, all the Bishops expressed their assent. " All the Bishops said ' We agree. '"

The memory of a small Council held by S. Ambrose A. D. 380 to clear one maliciously accused, has been preserved by his letter, in which he expostulates with a Bishop who had listened too readily to the calumny. Indicia, "^s approved by the judgment of Zeno of holy memory and consecrated by his blessing," had given offence to her brother-in-law, one Maximus, by not

^a Conc. ii, 1195.

^r S. Leo Ep. 15. c. 4.

^s S. Ambr. Ep. 5. Syagr. §. 1.

going to his country house ;^t to others, by not going from house to house and visiting their wives.^u Some vile women were procured to spread abroad a report of child-murder.^v The brother-in-law; “the^w author of the whole scene,” spread the charge abroad orally and by letter, and brought it to Syagrius, the Bishop of Verona, but would not appear as accuser, “mistrusting the evidence.” Some told Syagrius, that “they^x would not communicate with him, if he received her [to communion] unexamined.” “Of what sort are they,” asks S. Ambrose, “who would prescribe to Bishops the course we are to take?” In compliance with those requisitions, Syagrius had decided on requiring a proof of her innocence, unfit and shocking to be required^y; against which S. Ambrose wrote indignantly; and summoned before him the accusers.

S. Ambrose joined in his judgment “his^z brethren and fellow-Bishops.” It appeared that two of the original accusers, “persons^a of vilest condition and more detestable wickedness,” had been purposely removed out of the way; a third had fled, to avoid the proof of her own guilt. Those who circulated the story on such alleged authority, when examined by S. Ambrose, contradicted each other^b; on the day of the trial “they^c withdrew themselves from the Synod of Bishops.” No witnesses appearing, S. Ambrose’s own sister S. Marcellina, Paterna, “whose^d affection was a testimony,” and Indicia’s nurse, bore witness to

^t §. 17.

^u §. 16

^v §. 19.

^w §. 4.

^x §. 15.

^y §. 2.

^z §. 1.

^a §. 20.

^b §. 19.

^c §. 20.

^d §. 22.

Indicia's holy and unblemished life. S. Marcellina said, "she^e wished that the Lord Jesus might reserve a part of the kingdom of God for her with Indicia." "Moved by these things," says S. Ambrose,^f "we pronounced Indicia a blameless virgin, and condemned Maximus, and [the two accusers,] Renatus and Leontius; allowing to Maximus a hope of restoration [to communion] on amending his error: the accusers were "to remain excommunicate, unless they should shew themselves fit for mercy, by proof of penitence, and lasting sorrow for their deed."

These were all the Councils of this period, up to the date of the Council of Constantinople. Valens' sudden death left the Church free; and the second general Council for the maintenance of the faith was held in the Capital, whence successive Arian Emperors had especially labored to eradicate it.

Just before the death of S. Basil, A. D. 379, S. Gregory of Nazianzum was invited by "many,^g both pastors and people," to Constantinople. A Synod of Bishops^h (probably those of Thrace) called him. It was according to the mind of S. Basil,ⁱ although, on earth, he did not see the event. Constantinople was, at this time, through the forty-years banishment of its orthodox Bishops and the persecution or even murder of its clergy,^k almost abandoned to every heresy.

^e §. 21.^f §. ult.^g Carm. de Vit. l. 595, 6.^h de Episc. l. 81.ⁱ Or. 43. § 2. p. 771.

^k e. g. the massacre of eighty Presbyters, whom Valens had put into a vessel, directing that it should be set on fire at sea. Socr. iv. 16. Soz. vi. 14. Theod. iv. 24. add Ruf. i. 25.

Arianism was enthroned there; yet no small part of the people in Constantinople, Bithynia, Thrace, the Hellespont, had been attracted by the strict and monastic life of the kindred and rival heresy of the Macedonians.¹ The best of the heretical Bishops were of this sect.^m Constantinople was the head quarters also of the Eunomians, who thence sent out Bishopsⁿ to Lydia, Ionia, Lesbos, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Antioch in Cœlesyria. “In Constantinople” itself, “no small number joined them from Eudoxius, and some other heresies.” There were rumours, that Apollinarian Bishops^o were going to hold a Council there, to bring in a new heresy. The Novatians, as we have just seen, had their Bishop there. There was, in comparison, but a little flock^p who had preserved the faith, nay, the remains of a flock, poor, scattered, glad to gain its salvation as it were by stealth, but precious in the sight of God, to tend whom S. Gregory was invited. He secretly, amid persecutions still imminent, assembled the Catholics in the private house of a relation,^q where the faith, which had all but died out, rose again, and it was called thence the Church of the Resurrection, Anastasia.^r S. Gregory brought the faith to Constantinople, and “received,” in return, “stones.”^s The people, brought up in entire ignorance of the Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity,

¹ Soz. iv. 27. ^m Ruf. H. E. i. 25. ⁿ Philg. viii. 2. ^o de vit. l. 609. sqq.

^p Or. 42. §. 2. de vit. 587. sqq.

^q Or. 26. §. 17.

^r Or. 42. §. 16. de vit. 1079. Somn. de Anastas.

^s de vitæ gen. l. 47. de vit. 665. sqq.

thought him a Polytheist. They were zealous also for their Arian Bishop, Demophilus. So they stoned him, without yet killing him; then, they brought him before the civil court. "Christ,"^t he says, "who aideth the word spoken for Him, glorified me in the stranger tribunal."

Yet, by simplicity, piety, clear and forcible statements of the truth, zeal for the salvation of souls, and holiness of life he won numbers to the faith, while the hatred of those who hated the truth fell on him.

S. Gregory and the Church had, however, more lasting trouble from one, Maximus the Cynic, who imposed upon him with accounts of his sufferings for Christ, when he had suffered only for his sins.^u Maximus put on the semblance of holiness, and zeal for the faith.^v With this he deceived Peter Bishop of Alexandria, so that he even took part against S. Gregory. He, who had at first "in guilelessness, written" to S. Gregory, and "by his letters set^w him in his see, and honored him with the symbols of his confirmation," turned against him. He even sent^x the Bishops, of whom out of respect for Peter, S. Gregory would not speak more, and who, while S. Gregory was sick, secretly by night, without notice to the people or the Bishops, set the Cynic in his chair,^y and when discovered at dawn by the neighbouring clergy, they finished the consecration in a flute-player's hut, in

^t de Vit. 674-8.

^v Or. 25. §. 2. 3. 11. 13. 19. de vit. 960. sqq.

^x lb. 851.

^u Ib. 976. sqq. Or. 25. §. 3.

^w ἐγκαθίστα de vit. 859.

^y lb. 881. sqq.

the presence of some of the lowest and most worthless rabble.^z Expelled from Constantinople, Maximus, with the Bishops who consecrated him, betook himself to Theodosius, then engaged in the Gothic war. Theodosius rejected him.^a “What had been ill done was cancelled by civil authority.”^b Maximus betook himself to Alexandria, endeavoured to gain from Peter either the see of Constantinople, or his own, and was expelled thence by the Prefect.^c Thence he went to Italy, and for a time gained the support of S. Ambrose and a Synod. Damasus, although well-informed as to Maximus, and approving of the act of Theodosius, was unhappily no less prejudiced against S. Gregory. To Acholius Bishop of Thessalonica, and five other Bishops who had informed him of the uncanonical consecration of the Cynic, and his rejection by Theodosius, he writes, “For ^d the rest I exhort your holinesses, that since, as I know, it is arranged that a Council should be held at Constantinople, your sincerity will give diligence, that one blameless be elected Bishop of that city ; so that when, by the favor of God, peace shall be completely established between Catholic Bishops, no dissensions may thenceforth arise in the Church ; but (as we had long wished) perpetual peace may endure among the Catholic Bishops. This moreover I exhort you, beloved, not to allow any one against the statutes of our forefathers, to be transferred

^z 898-912.

^a 1001-1012.

^b Damas. Ep. ad Achol. in Holstein p. 40.

^c 1013-23.

^d in Holstein p. 40, 1.

from one city to another, and leave the people committed to him and out of ambition pass over to another.”

Nothing could less describe the character or circumstances of the meek S. Gregory ; yet it was, in ignorance, aimed at him.

Soon after this, (Nov. 24. A. D. 380) Theodosius, having anew defeated the Goths, entered Constantinople. By birth a Spaniard, he was born of orthodox parents.^e After Gratian had raised him to the Eastern Empire, for his decisive victory over the Goths by whom Valens had been defeated and slain, he fell sick at Thessalonica. Having ascertained that Acholius, Bishop of that city, was orthodox, he was baptized by him^f and recovered.^g “^hHe joyed more to become a member of the Church than to reign on earth.” On his Baptism,ⁱ he issued an edict in behalf of the faith. It was addressed “to^k the people of Constantinople.” “We will, that all people under the rule of our Clemency be of that religion which the divine Peter the Apostle delivered to the Romans, as is attested by its continuance from the Apostle’s day until now, which faith moreover, it is evident that the Pontiff Damasus, and Peter Bishop of Alexandria, a man of Apostolic holiness, do follow ; viz “that, according to the Apostolic discipline and Evangelic doctrine, we should believe the One Godhead of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, of equal Majesty in the Holy

^e Soer. v. 6.

^f l. c.

^g Soz. vii. 4.

^h S. Aug. de Civ. Dei. v. ult.

ⁱ Soz. l. c.

^k Cod. Theod. L. xvi. Tit. 1. de fide Cath. l. 2.

Trinity. Those who follow this law we bid to take the title of Catholic Christians. Judging the rest to be phrenzied and mad, [we bid that] they should bear the disgrace of heresy ; and that their conventicles should not receive the name of churches ; they themselves being to be punished first by the vengeance of God, and then by our motion which we have received from the will of Heaven."

Constantinople had at this time formally no Bishop ; Antioch had two ; so that Theodosius appeals to the two great sees, about which there was no dispute. Arrived at Constantinople, Theodosius honored and listened to S. Gregory¹ ; he was present in person,^m to put the Bishop in possession of the Cathedral, and would have assigned to him the see at the request of the whole multitude, had not S. Gregory turned their thoughts off from himself to thanksgiving to God.ⁿ

In the beginning of the next year (A. D. 381. Jan. 10.) Theodosius forbade^o all heretics against the faith of Nice, especially the Arians, Photinians, and Eunomians, from assembling congregations within the towns ; he annulled any special rescripts to the contrary, which had been fraudulently obtained ; enjoined that the Catholic churches throughout the world should be given back to all the Orthodox Bishops who hold the faith of Nice ; and threatened to expel the heretics themselves from the cities, if they made disturbances. To Demophilus,^p the Arian Bishop, Theodosius gave

¹ de vit. 1305. sqq.

^m 1336. sqq.

ⁿ 1371-1395.

^o Cod. Theod. xvi. 5. (de hæret.) 6.

^p Soer. v. 7.

the choice of accepting the Nicene faith and making peace, or leaving the city. Demophilus retired to the suburbs.

Sapor,^a the General who was entrusted with the execution of the edicts, found S. Meletius still at Antioch. On this occasion, S. Meletius made the celebrated offer, that he and Paulinus should feed the flock of the Lord in common, the survivor succeeding to the whole charge; and that meantime the Gospels should be placed in the Episcopal chair, as the representative of Christ, and the two Bishops sit on either side. This, Paulinus refused; and Sapor, (whether on the ground of the peacefulness of S. Meletius, or because Paulinus still stood out in maintaining that there was only one Divine Hypostasis,^r) awarded the Churches to S. Meletius.

The Council of Constantinople then probably did not begin sitting before Easter A. D. 481. For S. Meletius, who was present at its opening, had the long land-journey to make, after this conference with Sapor. The assembling of the Council had, from the first, lain near the heart of Theodosius. "As^s soon as he received the Empire, he made the harmony of the Churches his chief care, and convoked the Bishops of his own sovereignty to Constantinople. For this part alone was full of the infection of Arianism. For the West had remained free from this disease. For Constantine, the eldest son of Constantine, and Con-

^a Theod. v. 3.

^r above p. 215.

^s Theod. v. 6.

stans the youngest, kept their father's faith undefiled ; and Valentinian again, the Emperor of the West, maintained to the end religion undefiled."

Theodosius, after his great defeat of the Goths, had his elevation foreshewn to him in a dream, wherein he saw S. Meletius placing the royal purple around him, and the crown upon his head.^t

When ^u the Bishops arrived, one hundred and fifty in number, he charged that no one should shew him which was the great Meletius. For he wished to recognise him from his dream. And when the whole assembly of Bishops had entered the Palace, passing by all the rest, he ran up to the great Meletius. And as an affectionate son, who obtained sight of his father after a long interval, he embraced him and kissed his eyes and lips and cheek and head, and the right hand which crowned him. He related too the vision which he had seen. The rest also he entreated courteously ; and begged them, as fathers, to consult about the matters before them."

Theodosius hoped also to regain Eleusius ^v and the Macedonian Bishops to the faith which they had professed in their embassy to the West.^w He, accordingly, "invited the Bishops of their heresy also. They came, thirty-six in all, most of whom were from the cities of the Hellespont."

Among the Orthodox Bishops, were many remarkable for piety or wisdom. Besides S. Meletius and

^t Ib.

^u c. 7

^v Soer. v. 8.

^w above p. 234-6.

S. Gregory of Nazianzum, there were ^x S. Basil's two brothers, S. Gregory of Nyssa and S. Peter of Sebaste, Helladius, (who had succeeded S. Basil) S. Amphilo-
 chius, S. Cyril of Jerusalem, Optimus of Pisidia, Diodorus of Cilicia, [S. Chrysostom's master] S. Pelagius of Laodicea, S. Eulogius of Edessa, Acacius [of Berœa] Isidore of Tyre and Gelasius of Cæsarea, adorned in life and doctrine ;" all of whom Theodoret calls "men worthy of 'all admiration and full of Divine zeal and wisdom." Among the subscriptions there are also names eminent for zeal and holiness ; S. Antiochus of Samosata, nephew and successor of S. Eusebius, S. Vitus of Carrhæ, and Abraham of Batnæ, (whose names have occurred already) Acholius, Bosphorus of Colonia and Otreius of Melitine, S. Martyrius of Marcianopolis. S. Meletius was President.^y S. Gregory of Nyssa in his funeral oration before the Council, calls him "our ^z father." The Bishops were collected from the whole East, except that, at first, the Emperor did not summon the Bishops from Egypt.^a

The Macedonian Bishops at once refused to accept the faith of Nice, to which they had before assented, and left the Council.^b "They wrote to their adherents in different cities, exhorting them not to assent to what had been decreed at Nice."

The Bishops of the Council ratified at once the expulsion of Maximus the Cynic. They decreed "^cthat neither had he ever been, or was, a Bishop ; nor were

^x Theod. v. 8.^y de vit. 1514. sqq.^z de Melet. init. iii. 587.^a de vit. 1509. sqq.^b Soz. vii. 7.^c Can. 4. Conc. ii. 1125.

those who had been ordained by him, in any rank whatever of the Clergy, [really ordained] every thing done about him or by him being annulled."

S. Gregory, being a Bishop without a see, had taken care of, and guarded and enlarged the little flock which he had received, until it became a great multitude. The Arians had taunted him that "his people^d would not fill even the porches" of the churches, which *they* had evacuated. All were filled; and the harvest was increasing.^e The people had themselves, in their eager zeal, enthroned him.^f He had virtually been Bishop of the whole Orthodox people. "The laws against translations were long dead;" and S. Gregory also was "clearly free from them."^g He treats the objection, grounded on his supposed translation, as a "clumsy^h fiction" of his enemies. He had not been translated from any see, for he had never occupied any. The see of Sasima, although he was consecrated for it, he had declined. At Nazianzum, he had only aided his father. "ⁱS. Meletius seeing him, and knowing the object of those who wrote the Canons, that they hindered translations, in order to cut off occasions of ambition, confirmed to the divine Gregory the Episcopate of Constantinople." All the Bishops at the Council joined in electing him. He himself was induced to accept it by one ground alone,^k the hope that the

^d de vit. 1495-8. ^e Ib. 1499. Orat. xlii. 16. 5. 6. 11. 12. ^f Orat. xxxvi. 2.

^g de vit. 1810, 1. ^h "After I came, leaving Cappadocia, (which seems to all a bulwark of faith) but not leaving a people, or ought to which I was bound. These are fictions of enemies, falsehoods, veils of envy, clumsily devised." de se ipso et Episc. 93-7. ⁱ Theod. v. 8. ^k de vit. 1526-71.

influence of his see would enable him to end the schism between the East and West. For S. Meletius, even while President of this second General Council, was still out of communion with the West. "It was not yet clear," says S. Gregory after the decease of S. Meletius,¹ "whether they of the West would receive the man, being up to this point exasperated."

The death of S. Meletius, soon afterwards, destroyed this hope. The Easterns were unwilling that Paulinus, whose orthodoxy they suspected, and with whom the Westerns had sided, in opposition to *their* S. Meletius, should have the authority of the great see of Antioch. The Westerns were persuaded, at least at one time, that S. Meletius and Paulinus had agreed that the survivor should be the sole Bishop; although the Council under S. Ambrose, which asserted this ^m A. D. 381, was silent about it A. D. 382, and admitted ⁿ that in some things they had been imposed upon. The refusal of Paulinus, as related by Theodoret, was in A. D. 381, and could hardly have been earlier than March, just before S. Meletius left Antioch for the last time, to attend the Council of Constantinople. It leaves then no room for any subsequent compact. Theodoret was well acquainted with the affairs of Antioch. S. Gregory, who resigned his see rather than take part in nominating a successor to S. Meletius, and who mentions the grounds which he urged upon the Bishops at Constantinople,^o against appointing a

¹ 1612, 3.ⁿ Ib. Ep. 14. § 2.^m in S. Ambr. Ep. 13. §. 2.^o de vit. 1591-1679.

Bishop of Antioch during the life-time of Paulinus, knew of no such compact. Socrates destroys his own credibility, by accusing S. Flavian of perjury,^p in which he is unsupported, and which is utterly incredible.

S. Gregory threw the whole weight, which he derived from his character, his eloquence, his see, his presidency of the Council, into the scale of peace. He urged that this opportunity should be seized of “joining^q with them what is alien; (for, as I see, the West now is alien)”; that Paulinus should hold the see “a little longer” till his decease; and that then, “amid the harmony of the whole people and of the wise Bishops, we should, with the Holy Ghost, assign some other to the see.”^r S. Gregory proposed to resign his see, rather than remain, “unable^s to draw others to his mind, or to assent to others, against reason.” He objected also to the too easy terms, on which the Council had received heretics,^t allowing probably Arian Bishops to retain their sees, upon subscribing the Nicene Creed. When S. Athanasius and the Council of Alexandria offered easy terms to the Arians under Julian,^u every thing was adverse; the faith and the faithful were despised; now faith was the avenue to Imperial favor. He himself had presided over the very sessions, where, (as he said,) “the^v Moabite and Ammonite had found entrance to the Church”; but he had had no weight.

^p v. 5. Sozomen (vii. 11.) simply copies Socrates.

^q de vit. 1636, 7.

^r 1624-34.

^s 1675, 6.

^t 1724-44.

^u above p. 214.

^v 1737, 8.

The love of his people and the fear of injury to the faith still retained him.^w God solved his doubts by the arrival of the Egyptian and Macedonian Bishops. These arrived in the midst of the debates, having been “called^x on a sudden by Theodosius.” Probably they had not been invited at first, as being adverse to the election of S. Gregory. The Egyptians had just been involved in the affair of Maximus; the Macedonians were likely to take part with the West. *Now*, under the plea of an obsolete rule, they opposed the appointment of S. Gregory, “in^y order to vex those who had appointed him.” “Envy^z following on his glory. some began to oppose, and to employ against him unsound proscriptions; in order that he might return to his own, and another be ordained Bishop.” S. Gregory gained the consent of the Emperor, of his people, and of those of the Bishops who were grieved at his loss.^a He willingly “gave^b back to the Bishops the deposit,” which he had “unwillingly received from them.” Nectarius, of Tarsus, a Senator and as yet a Catechumen, was chosen by the Emperor at the suggestion, it is said, of Diodorus^c ultimately, but being in great favour with the people.^d

The question of the Episcopate of Antioch followed. “^ePaulinus wished to have it. But the body of Bishops replied that he, who did not admit the counsels of Meletius, ought not after his death, to take his throne; but *he* who had become glorious through his many

^w 1781-96. ^x 1798. ^y 1812-15. ^z Ruf. II. E. ii. 9. ^a 1879-1918.

^b Soz. vii. 7.

^c Ib. c. 8.

^d Socr. v. 8.

^e Theod. v. 23.

labors, and had incurred the greatest peril for the flock." S. Flavian, whom the Bishops of the Diocese of Antioch chose to succeed S. Meletius, was of distinguished birth ; he inherited, when young, large wealth, but, unseduced by either, had from his earliest years followed a strict and austere life.^f While quite young, he had A. D. 331 followed ^g S. Eustathius, then Bishop of Antioch, into banishment. About A. D. 350 he, with Diodorus, were, as monks but laymen, the chief opponents of Leontius, the Bishop whom the Arians intruded. "Night^h and day they stirred men to zeal for the faith." To the same end, they revived antiphonal chanting of the Psalms, which spread from Antioch throughout the world. They kept vigils with devout persons at the tombs of the Martyrs, singing all night hymns to God. A. D. 350, they induced Leontius to depose his fellow-Arian Aetius, whom he had ordained deacon. A. D. 376, they conjointly,ⁱ as Presbyters, governed the Church during the banishment of S. Meletius its Bishop, and refuted the adversaries ; S. Flavian supplying the arguments and proofs from Scripture, Diodorus using them. Driven from one place to another, they, at last, held their assemblies in the exercise-ground of the Roman soldiery. Antioch at least had joy in the appointment of S. Flavian. "When we lost that former father, who was for us the parent of our present," says S. Chrysostom,^k "we knew not what to do. We mourned pitiably, not looking that another

^f S. Chrys. Serm. cum Presbyt. f. ordinat. i. 440.

^g Philost. iii. 18.

^h Theod. ii. 24.

ⁱ Id. iv. 26.

^k S. Chrys. l. c. §. v. see also in the Panegyric of S. Meletius fin. ii. 522.

such would receive this see. But when he [S. Flavian] appeared among us, he caused all this dejection to disperse like a cloud. Not insensibly did he do away our grief, but as suddenly as if that blessed one had arisen from his coffin, and again ascended to that throne." S. Chrysostom calls him "the ¹imitator of martyrs, the common teacher." Yet for seventeen years, neither the West nor Egypt were in communion with him. Three successive Bishops of Rome, Damasus, Siricius, and Anastasius tried to move Theodosius against him.^m The Western Bishopsⁿ renounced communion with Diodorus of Tarsus also, and Acacius of Beroëa, who had consecrated him. Syria, Palestine, Phœnicia, and most of the Armenians, Cappadocians, Galatians, and those of Pontus, took his part. Arabia and Cyprus joined the communion of Paulinus. The division lasted at Antioch, to the injury of discipline and of faithful teaching,^o until the seventeenth year of the Episcopate of S. Flavian, ten years after the death of Paulinus, and beyond even the death of Evagrius whom Paulinus uncanonically consecrated as his successor.

The see of Antioch was not filled until after the enactments of the Council. For the election lay with the Bishops, but was to be made in presence of the people. It could not take place then, until the Bishops should return from the Council to Antioch. The Council, however, disapproved of Paulinus, re-

¹ in ill. Vidi Dom. Hom. 3. init. vi. 112.

^m Theod. v. 23.

ⁿ Soz. vii. 11.

^o S. Chrys. Hom. xi. in Eph. p. 230. O T.

commended S. Flavian, and, when elected, formally accepted him. The Council, when reassembled in the following year, justified to the Italian Synod, the election of Nectarius and S. Flavian, and the recognition of S. Cyril of Jerusalem. “As to the ordering of details in the several Churches, the law was of old in force, and the holy fathers at Nice ruled, that in each Eparchy, the Bishops of the Eparchy and, if these pleased, the neighbouring Bishops with them, should elect for the common good. In conformity hereto know ye that the other Churches in our parts are ordered, and that the Bishops of the most distinguished Churches have been received. Whence, with common consent, in the presence of the Emperor Theodosius, most beloved of God, and of the whole Clergy, and the whole city concurring, we have made the most reverend and most beloved of God, Nectarius, Bishop of the re-erected Church of Constantinople, which, through the mercy of God, we have lately snatched out of the jaw of the lion, and blasphemy of the heretics. And of the eldest and truly Apostolic Church at Antioch in Syria, in which first the honored name of Christian was heard, those of the Eparchy and of the Eastern Diocese having met together, canonically ordained the Bishop most reverend and most beloved of God, Flavian, the whole Church in harmony honoring him as with one voice; which lawful ordination the whole body of the Synod also accepted. Moreover of the Mother of all Churches, that at Jerusalem, we make known to you that the most reverend and most beloved of God,

Cyril, is Bishop, having been of old ordained canonically by the Bishops of the Eparchy, and having in divers places engaged very often with the Arians.”

In matters of faith, the growth of the heresies of Apollinarius, Marcellus, and Macedonius, which had sprung up since the Council of Nice, made the fathers at Constantinople judge right to enlarge the Nicene Creed, in order to meet these heresies. What they added to the Creed actually adopted at Nice, was taken out of ancient Creeds. Verbal alterations were made, which will be seen more clearly by setting the two Creeds side by side, as they were recited in the Council of Chalcedon :^p

NICE.

CONSTANTINOPLE.^q

We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of¹ of all things visible and invisible. And in One Lord Jesus Christ the² Son of God begotten of the Father.

¹ heaven and earth and

Only begotten, that is of the Substance of the Father ;

² Only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds,

God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, Begotten, not made ; being of One Substance with the Father ; by Whom all things were made, ³ the things in heaven and things in earth.

³ transposed to the beginning

Who for us men and for our salvation came down ⁴ and was incarnate ⁵

⁴ from heaven

⁵ of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary

^p Act. ii. init. p. 1209, 12.

^q The present Creed, except the Filioque.

and made Man ⁶	⁶ and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate
and suffered ⁷	⁷ and was buried
and rose again on the third day ⁸	⁸ according to the Scriptures
Who ascended into heaven ⁹	⁹ and sitteth on the Right Hand of the Father
and cometh again ¹⁰ to judge quick and dead ¹¹	¹⁰ in glory ¹¹ of Whose kingdom there shall be no end
And in the Holy Ghost ¹²	¹² the Lord and Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified; Who spake by the Prophets; in One holy Catholic and Apostolic Church; we acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins; and we look for the Resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come.

It is not explained why, in the Creed framed at Nice, such words as “of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary” were omitted, since they existed in so many of the traditional Creeds both in the East and West.^r Yet they are a corrective of all the different forms of heresy, which denied (as did Apollinaris,) that our Lord was Very Man, born of the Virgin, in all things like unto us, yet without sin. The words “of whose kingdom there shall be no end” were directed against the heresy of Marcellus. The enlargement of the Creed as to the Person and office of God the Holy Ghost

^r see on Tert. Note P. p. 503, 4. Oxf. Tr.

was occasioned by the heresy of the Macedonians. In all these additions, the Council used the language of Creeds already existing. The last clauses of the Creed occur verbatim in a work, written seven years before by S. Epiphanius, as a Creed to be learned by Catechumens. "This^s Creed," he says, "was delivered down from the holy Apostles, and [was laid down] in the Church, the holy City, by all the holy Bishops together, being above three hundred and ten in number."

The Bishops of the Council of Chalcedon say to the Emperor Marcian; "Those in these parts having detected the pestilence of Apollinarius made known their decree to those in the West, under the guidance of Nectarius and Gregory."

The Council framed seven Canons^u only. The first confirmed the faith of Nice, and condemned by name the heresies of the Eunomians or Anomœans; of the Arians or Eudoxians; of the Semi-Arians or adversaries of the Holy Ghost; of the Sabellians, Marcellians, Photinians, and Apollinarians. The second assigned the limits of the jurisdiction of the several Bishops, and guarded against such interference as had recently been exercised in the case of Maximus by the Bishop of Alexandria. "Let not Bishops out of a Diocese enter upon Churches beyond their limits, nor confuse the Churches; but according to the Canons, let the Bishop of Alexandria order the affairs of Egypt only, and the Bishops of the East govern the East only, the

^s Ancor. c. 120.

^t Allocut. ad Marcian. P. iii. T. iv. 1765.

^u Conc. ii. 1123 sqq.

preeminences contained in the Nicene Canons being preserved to the Church at Antioch ; and let the Bishops of the Diocese of Asia order the affairs of Asia only ; the Bishops of Pontus, those of Pontus only ; the Bishops of Thrace, those of Thrace only. Bishops uninvited are not to go out of their Province to ordinations, or any other ecclesiastical ministrations. This Canon as to Dioceses being observed, it is plain that the Synod of each Eparchy will order the affairs of each Eparchy, as was defined at Nice. But the Churches of God in the barbarous nations ought to be ruled according to the custom which has prevailed from the fathers.”

The third Canon, in words, secured only to the see of Constantinople what it already had. After enjoining non-interference between the Bishops of the several Dioceses, it assigned a preeminence of dignity to the Royal city. “Let however the Bishop of Constantinople have the preeminence of honor after the Bishop of Rome, because it is new Rome.” It was already the first see in the East. The Arian Eudoxius had thought it to be above Antioch, since he quitted the see of Antioch for it. Both S. Gregory and Nectarius presided over the Council of Constantinople as its Bishops. S. Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, came before the appointment of S. Gregory. Timothy of Alexandria, if he presided at all, must have presided in the interval after S. Gregory had resigned, and must have given way to Nectarius.

The Bishops, however, of the Council of Chalcedon

understood the Canon to confer some thing more than dignity. They enlarged it in their twenty-eighth Canon, adding a Patriarchal authority over the Dioceses of Thrace, Asia and Pontus ; yet as if this authority had really been given by the fathers at Constantinople. “We, every where following the decrees of the holy fathers, and acknowledging the Canon, just read, of the one hundred and fifty Bishops most beloved of God, who, in the time of the great Theodosius of holy memory, were assembled at the Royal Constantinople, new Rome, do likewise decree and vote the same things concerning the privileges of the same most holy Church of Constantinople, new Rome. For to the throne of the elder Rome, because that city was the seat of Empire, the fathers reasonably gave privileges. And the one hundred and fifty Bishops, most beloved of God, moved by the same consideration, gave the like privileges to the most holy throne of new Rome, reasonably judging that the city, honored with Empire and a Senate, and enjoying the same privileges as the elder Imperial Rome, should be made of much account in Ecclesiastical matters also, being second after it. [They ruled] too that in the Diocese of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, the Metropolitans only, but in the barbarous parts the Bishops of the aforesaid dioceses should be ordained by the aforesaid most holy throne of the most holy Church at Constantinople ; to wit, each Metropolitan of the aforesaid Dioceses with the Bishops of the Eparchy ordaining the Bishops of the Eparchy, as is prescribed

by the holy Canons ; but that the Metropolitans of the aforesaid Dioceses should be ordained by the Archbishop of Constantinople, when the election shall have been agreed upon, according to custom, and referred to him.”

The jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome over the “Suburbicary ^v Churches” (whether those within an hundred miles from Rome, or those of the ten provinces of the Italic Dioceses under the Vicar of the City) would form an analogy for assigning these neighbouring Provinces to the see of Constantinople.

The fourth Canon ^w related only to Maximus. The fifth is briefly “Of the tome of the Westerns ; we receive those in Antioch also who confess one Godhead of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.” The tome mentioned is probably the confession of faith transmitted from the West through S. Athanasius and S. Basil, and by him sent on to S. Meletius and then signed by him and the Bishops in communion with him.^x And the meaning of the Canon probably is, that the Bishops at Constantinople received into Communion those at Antioch too, who held the same faith ; i. e. that they, on their part, willed to end the schism at Antioch.

The sixth Canon guarded against wanton accusations of Bishops. In any case in which the accuser had a personal complaint against a Bishop, the Canon allows him to prefer it, “without examination as to the person or faith of the accuser. For the conscience

^v see Bingham 9. 19.

^w see ab. p. 298.

^x see ab. p. 242-8.

of the Bishop ought to be wholly free, and one who alleges that he has been injured, ought, whatever his faith, to obtain justice." But heretics and schismatics it does not allow to "accuse orthodox Bishops for Ecclesiastical matters." Nor was any one allowed to prefer any such accusation, who was himself accused of any crime or who had been condemned formerly, or deposed, or excommunicated, and had not cleared himself. If the accuser was free from any such disqualification, he was admitted to make the accusation on the following conditions; that it should be before the Bishops of the Eparchy; if these sufficed not, then he should go to a larger Synod of the Bishops of that Province, convened for this cause. The accusers, before bringing the charge, were in writing to subject themselves to the same penalty, if their accusation should be proved to be vexatious. "But if any, despising this rule, shall venture to trouble the Imperial ears, or civil court, or an Œcumenical Synod, putting dishonor on the Bishops of the Diocese, such an one was not to be admitted as an accuser, as insulting the Canons and destroying Ecclesiastical order."

The seventh Canon regulated the mode of receiving heretics. The ground of the distinction is not clear. The Arians, Macedonians, Sabbatians [probably a section of Novatians, being also Quarto-decimans, followers of one Sabbatius, an ex-Jew], Novatians, Quarto-decimans, and Apollinarians were received on "anathematizing every heresy, which thinketh not as thinketh the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of God." "These

we receive, being first sealed or anointed with the holy ointment on forehead, eyes, nose, mouth, and ears, and sealing them, we say, 'The seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit.' But as for the Eunomians who baptise with one immersion, and the Montanists, here called Phrygians, and the Sabellians who teach that the Son is the Father, and do many other grievous things, and all the other heresies, (since there are many here, especially those who come from Galatia,) all who wish to come from them to sound faith, we receive as heathen ; and on the first day, we make them Christians ; on the second, Catechumens ; on the third we receive them, breathing thrice on their face and ears ; and so we catechise them, and make them long abide in the Church and hear the Scriptures, and then we baptise them."

These Canons, together with the Creed, were subscribed by the one hundred and fifty Bishops. The fewness of the Bishops is explained in the Synodical letter, written from Constantinople in the following year by such of the Bishops, as then re-assembled. They were the representatives of other Bishops who, amid the continual inroads of the Arians, could not, without risk to their flocks, leave their dioceses. And so the Council itself represented the whole Orthodox Communion of the East, whose absent Bishops received its Creed and Canons.

Theodosius, being Emperor in the East only, assembled only Eastern Bishops, Acholius, Bishop of Thessalonica, being present on special invitation, not deputed by any Western Bishops.

The faith being one, there can be no doubt that the Creed set forth at Constantinople, was at once received by the Roman Synod. Hence Photius says, “that the Council had, as its chiefs, Timothy Bishop of Alexandria, the wonderful Meletius of Antioch, Cyril of Jerusalem, directing those holy thrones, and Nectarius—with whom was Gregory of Nyssa, and he who from his works was called ‘the Theologian,’ with whom, not long after, Damasus too, Bishop of Rome, confirming the same, was known to be in harmony, joining himself to those who had been beforehand. This sacred band condemned Macedonius &c.^y”

The few Canons of the Council were, for a long time, received in the East only, for which alone they were framed. The third Canon was pointedly rejected by successive Bishops of Rome, Leo,^z Gelasius,^a Gregory I., Nicholas I.^b S. Gregory says, “the^c Roman Church hitherto hath not, nor receiveth those same Canons, or the acts of the Synod. It receives that same Synod, as to that which was defined by it against Macedonius.” At last Innocent III. and the fourth Lateran Council^d formally accepted the order of the Patriarchal sees, founded upon it.

The Emperors, from the first, assumed the precedence of the see of Constantinople.^e Nectarius took precedence of Theophilus of Alexandria and the rest at the Council of Constantinople A. D. 394^f; Sisinnius,

^y Ep. 1. ad Michael. Bulg. de 7 Synodis §. 9. p. 5.

^z Ep. 106. Anatol. §. 5. ^a Ep 13. ad Episc. Dard. Conc. v. 333.

^b Ep. 8. ad Michael. Imp. Conc. ix. 1321. ^c L. vii. Ep. 34. Enlog.

^d can. 5. ^e Cod. Theod. 16. 1. 3. and 11. 24. 6. ^f Conc. ii. p. 1377.

took place of Theodotus of Antioch A. D. 426.^g In the Council of Antioch, whose Acts were read at Chalcedon, Domnus of Antioch, and all the Bishops who mention S. Proclus and S. Cyril, mention S. Proclus first.^h In the Council of Chalcedon, Anatolius is always next after the Roman legates; and when, on the recitation of the Acts of the Robber-Councilⁱ of Ephesus, the name of S. Flavian was read after those of Dioscorus of Alexandria, Julian, (S. Leo's legate,) Juvenal of Jerusalem and Domnus of Antioch, "the Easterns and the most reverend Bishops with them cried out, 'Flavian entered, as a criminal; this was evident calumny. Why did not Flavian sit in his own place? Why did they place the Bishop of Constantinople fifth?' The most reverend Bishop Paschasinus [the senior Roman Legate] said 'See, we, God willing, have my lord Anatolius first. These placed the blessed Flavian fifth. Diogenes, the most reverend Bishop of Cyzicus said, 'Because you know the Canons.'" The legates of S. Leo conceded, thus far, the force of the Canon of Constantinople, and agreed to the order which it involved, which S. Leo subsequently disapproved,^k and which the Western Church finally acknowledged.

The Council of Constantinople wrote no circular letter in this year, but returned home, having addressed a Synodical letter to Theodosius. In this, the Council, after thanking God Who had raised up

^g Ib. iii. 549.

ⁱ Act. 1.

^h Act. xiv. Sozomen observes the same order viii. 1.

^k Ep. 106. Anatol. §. 5.

the Emperor, "for the peace of the Church and strengthening of the faith," gave a summary account of their proceedings, and asked for a civil sanction of them. "We necessarily refer to your Piety what took place in the Holy Synod, and that, having met at Constantinople, according to the letter of your Piety, we first renewed harmony among ourselves; then we agreed on brief statements of faith, having both confirmed the faith of the fathers at Nice, and anathematised the heresies which have sprung up against it. Moreover we have made certain Canons for the good order of the Churches, all which we have appended to this letter. We pray then your Piety, that the decision of the Council may be confirmed; that, as you honored the Church by the letters which convoked it, so also you may set the seal to the conclusion which we have decreed."

The Emperor immediately ratified the Council^m by his celebrated decree of July 30. A. D. 384, in which he named certain Bishops as centres of communion in the several civil Dioceses. "We command that all the Churches be presently given to Bishops who confess the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, of one Majesty and Power; of the same Glory, of one Brightness; introducing nothing discordant, through profane division, but confessing the order of the Trinity, the assertion of the Persons, and the Unity of the Godhead. The Bishops of whom it shall be certain that they

¹ Soz. vii. 9.

^m Cod. Theod. xvi. 1. (de fid. Cath.) 3.

are associated in the communion of Nectarius, Bishop of the Church of Constantinople, and, within Egypt, of Timothy Bishop of Alexandria; in the East, with Pelagius Bishop of Laodicea, and Diodorus Bishop of Tarsus; in Proconsular Asia and the diocese of Asia, with Amphilocheius Bishop of Iconium and Optimus Bishop of Antioch [in Pisidia]; in the diocese of Pontus, with Helladius Bishop of Cæsarea and Otreius of Melitine and Gregory Bishop of Nyssa; [in Thraceⁿ] with Terennius [Terentiusⁿ] Bishop of Scythia, Marmarius [Martyriusⁿ] Bishop of Marcianopolis;—such Bishop must, through the communion and fellowship of approved Bishops, be admitted to possession of the Catholic Churches. But all who dissent from the communion of faith of those thus specially named, must be expelled from the Churches, as open heretics, and not be allowed henceforth to retain the Episcopate of such Churches, so that the Bishops may abide purely in the true faith of Nice; nor, after our plain command, must any place be given to evil-minded cunning.” Sozomen says^o that Theodosius “praised these Bishops, having seen and conversed with them; and a good opinion prevailed about them, as guiding the Churches piously.” This done, the Bishops returned home.

Contemporarily with the great Council of Constantinople, the Synod of Aquileia was, at the petition of Palladius, an Arian Bishop in the West, summoned by Gratian. The Emperor intended, at first, to have

ⁿ from Sozomen l. c.

^o Ib. fin.

convened a General Council, and Palladius, in the presence of the Synod, stated that he had promised that the Eastern Bishops would come. Probably he looked to be supported by the Macedonian Bishops. The Emperor, in his Imperial Rescript, states that S. Ambrose had suggested to him, that it was needless, in such a cause, to bring Bishops from a great distance, to whom age or weak health or poverty might make it burdensome. “^PWishing to essay, as soon as may be, that the priests should not disagree, with a doubtful reverence for doctrines, we had commanded that the Bishops should meet in the city of Aquileia, in the diocese intrusted to, the merits of thy excellency. For controversies of doubtful meaning could not be more rightly cleared, than by our making the Bishops themselves the interpreters of the dispute which had arisen;—so that by those from whom the instruction in doctrine emanateth, the contradiction of an inharmonious teaching should be ended.

“And now we do not command otherwise than we did command, nor do we change the tenor of the directions, but reconsider the superfluous number of those congregated. For as Ambrose, by the merits of his life and the vouchsafement of God, the eminent Bishop of Milan, suggests that there is no need of a multitude there, where, if truth should be deposited with a few, it would not be hampered by many, and that he and the priests of the neighbouring cities of Italy would abundantly suffice against the declara-

^P in Act. Conc. Aq. ap. S. Ambr. ii. 787. sqq.

tions of those who oppose themselves, we have thought it right to abstain from wearying venerable men, lest any, either weighed down by mature age, or unequal thereto through a praiseworthy poverty, have to seek an unaccustomed land, etc.”

The plea of Palladius, throughout, was that it was not a “full Council,” “general Council,” for which he reserved himself. “He could not answer in the absence of his companions.” S. Ambrose answered; “Inasmuch as aforetime the Council was so held, that the Easterns should have a Council in the East, the Westerns in the West, we, being in the West, have met in the city of Aquileia, according to the command of the Emperor. Yet the prefect of Italy wrote, that the Easterns should have the power of coming, if they willed. But knowing the custom to be, that the Council of the Easterns should be in the East, that of the Westerns in the West, they thought best not to come.”

The larger part of the Bishops were from the Vicariate of Italy. Valerian, as Bishop of Aquileia, presided, although S. Ambrose took the chief part in examining Palladius. There were other Bishops however, legates from the Synods of their Province or country. Felix and Numidius, African Bishops and legates, came as representatives of all Africa; Constantius, Bishop of Orange, and Proculus, Bishop of Marseilles, represented the provinces of Vienne and Narbon. S. Justus of Lyons probably represented the five provinces of Gallia Lugdunensis. Anemius, Bishop of Sirmium, speaks in the name of Illyricum.

Evantius, a Presbyter, is designated also as a legate, probably of some single Bishop. "Ambrose, Bishop, said 'let the African legates also speak, who brought hither the judgment of all the Bishops of Africa.' Felix, Bishop and legate, said, 'if any one deny the Son of God to be both Everlasting and Co-eternal, not only do I, the legate of the whole Province of Africa, condemn him, but the whole band of Bishops, which have sent me to this most holy assembly, have also before condemned him.' Anemius Bishop of Sirmium spake as "the head of Illyricum." "Anemius Bishop said, 'The head of Illyricum is no other than the city of Sirmium. I am the Bishop of that city. I call him anathema, who confesses not &c.'" The Synodical letter is preserved, containing the thanks of the Council "to their beloved brethren the Bishops of the Province of Vienne and the first and second Narbon." "We thank your holy unanimity, that in our Lords and brethren, Constantius and Proculus, ye have bestowed upon us the presence of you all; and at the same time, following the injunctions of our forefathers, ye added no slight weight to our sentence, with which the profession of your holiness also agrees, most beloved Lords and brethren. So then as we willingly received the afore-said holy men from our mutual communion, so we let them go with abundant thanksgiving."

Palladius had himself hastened by a day the sitting of the Council, professing that he would come "as a

Christian to Christians." No notes were, accordingly, taken at first, the Bishops expecting a simple and satisfactory explanation. Ambrose said, "Long have we discussed without minutes. And since such blasphemies are poured into our ears by Palladius and Secundian, that it would be difficult for any to believe that they could blaspheme so openly, and lest they should deceitfully attempt afterwards to deny their own words, although there could be no doubt of what is attested by so many Bishops, yet since all the Bishops think it good, let minutes be taken, that no one may be able to deny what he had professed. Ye must then, holy men, declare your mind." All the Bishops said, "it seems good." Palladius was allowed, on his side, to have his own notaries.

The chief employment of the Synod was to detect the evasions of Palladius. When this had been done to some extent, "Palladius said, 'Allow of hearers; let them come; and notaries on both sides. Ye cannot be judges, if we have not hearers; and unless some on both sides come to hear, we answer you not.' Ambrose Bishop said, 'Whom seekest thou, as hearers?' Pall. 'There are many honorable men here.' Sabinus Bishop said, 'After so many blasphemies, askest thou for hearers?' Ambrose Bishop said, 'Bishops should judge laymen, not laymen Bishops; but say whom thou askest for as judges?' Pall. 'Let hearers come.' Chromatius Presbyter; 'saving the Episcopal condemnation, let Palladius' friends too speak in full Council.' Pall. 'Let them not be allowed to speak;

let hearers come and notaries on both sides, and these shall answer you in a general Council.' Ambrose Bishop said, 'Although he has been detected in many impieties, we are ashamed that he who claims to himself the priesthood, should seem to be condemned by laymen. And therefore he is to be condemned for this too, that he awaits the sentence of laymen, whereas Bishops ought rather to judge laymen. According to what we have this day heard Palladius profess, and according to what he refused to condemn, I pronounce him unworthy of the Episcopate, and to be deprived, that a Catholic may be ordained in his room.' All the Bishops said, 'Anathema to Palladius.' Ambrose Bishop said, 'The most gracious and Christian Emperor committed the cause to the judgment of Bishops, and appointed us to be arbiters of the trial. Since then the judgment seems to have been deferred to us, to be interpreters of Scripture, let us condemn Palladius, who refused to condemn the opinion of Arius; and because he denied that the Son of God was eternal, and the rest which is contained in the minutes. Let him be then accounted Anathema.' All the Bishops say, 'We all condemn him. Let him be accounted Anathema.'"

S. Ambrose then asked the Bishops to pronounce their judgment individually. "Since all here are Christian men and approved by God, our brethren and fellow-Bishops, let each say what he thinks." Twenty-five judgments only are preserved, besides that of S. Ambrose. The two African legates delivered their judgment in one.

After him, Secundian used the same evasions, and (as appears from the Epistle of the Synod to the Emperor,) was alike condemned.

With them was condemned Attalus a presbyter, who had been present at the Council of Nice, and had subscribed its Creed, but was now involved in the heresy of Palladius. "Ambrose said, 'Attalus the presbyter, although among the Arians, has liberty to speak. Let him profess freely, whether he subscribed the statement of the Nicene Council, under (sub) his Bishop Agrippinus or no?' Sabinus the Bishop said, 'We are witnesses that Attalus subscribed in the Council of Nice, and now will not answer.'"

Attalus could have had no voice at the Council of Nice; as he signed, not *for* his Bishop, but *under* him. His signature then declared his personal assent. But it was the subscription of one, submitting to a Creed, (like our modern subscriptions) not confirming or declaring it.

The Bishops in their Synodical letter to the Emperors, Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, thank them that, "in order to remove altercations, they had been at pains to gather a sacerdotal Council, and had vouchsafed to shew such honor to the Bishops, that no one who willed, need be absent; no one, against his will, be constrained. Therefore, according to the precept of your Clemency we met, without the invidiousness of a multitude, and with the purpose of dis-

cussing ; nor did any Bishops appear from the heretics, save two, Palladius and Secundian, men of ingrained faithlessness. Lo ! these were they, for whom they asked that a Council should be gathered from the utmost parts of the Roman world—How grievous had it been, that, for two men, decaying amid faithlessness, the Churches throughout the world should be deprived of their Bishops ! Who, though for the length of the way they could not come, yet well-nigh all were present from all the Provinces of the West, by the legates whom they sent, and through plain attestations that they hold what we maintain.”

After a condensed account of the Council, they mention that they had deposed the two Arian Bishops. “We entreat your faith, your glory, that ye would shew reverence to the Author of your empire, and decree, by letters of your Clemency given to competent authorities, that these asserters of impiety and adulterers of truth be removed from the precincts of the Church ; so that holy Bishops may, by the legates of our poor selves, be set in the place of those condemned. Let the like sentence include Attalus the Presbyter, who admits his faithlessness, and holds to the sacrilege of Palladius. What shall we say of his master Julian Valens ? who, being close at hand, declined the Council of Bishops—Let him at least return to his home, and not contaminate the cities of Italy, who now, by illicit ordinations, is associating to himself men like himself, and by aid of abandoned persons, would fain leave a seed-plot of his own impiety and faithlessness ;

he, who is not even a Bishop. For first at Padua he was placed to supersede holy Mark, a Bishop of admirable memory ; and having been disgracefully expelled by the people, he, who could find no place in Padua, now, after the destruction or rather the betrayal of his country, overrides Milan.”

After the Council of Aquileia had completed the judgment for which its Bishops were assembled, an imperfect account of the course of events at Constantinople induced S. Ambrose and the other Bishops there assembled, to write to Theodosius and request him to assemble a Council at Alexandria. They speak, not of Paulinus only, but of Timothy of Alexandria, as if they had been aggrieved. “We^s learn that there have been many innovations, and that they are now aggrieved who ought to have been helped, who ever continued in our Communion. Timothy, Bishop of the Church of Alexandria, and Paulinus of that of Antioch, who always maintained communion with us unimpaired, are reported to be harassed by the discussions of some, whose faith in times past wavered. Whom, if it may be and if their faith be perfect, we desire to be united to our communion, yet so that, to those of old in our communion, their prerogative be preserved. Nor is our care for them gratuitous—Long since we had the letters of both parties, and of those especially, who were at variance in the Church at Antioch. Indeed, unless the irruption of the enemy

^s Ep. 2. Conc. Aquil.

had hindered, we had settled to send some of our number, who might, if possible, act as umpires in restoring peace. But since, by reason of the public disquiet, we could not then do what we wished, we think that a petition of our's was presented to your Piety, wherein we asked that, according to the agreement of the parties, the Churches should on the decease of the one remain with the other, and no one be consecrated over the head [of the survivor]. So then we pray you, most gracious and Christian Princes, that ye will decide that a Council of all Catholic Bishops should be held at Alexandria, who may more fully consider and define, to whom communion should be given, to whom continued. For although we have ever held to the order and arrangement of the Alexandrian Church, and, after the custom of our forefathers, maintain its communion inviolable, yet lest any should seem to be disregarded, who asked for our communion, on the ground of the agreement which we wish to stand, or lest any method of maintaining the peace and communion of the faithful should seem to have been neglected, we entreat that when they shall have considered among themselves in a fuller assembly, the aid of your Piety may conspire with the decrees of the Bishops, and that you would have the result brought to our knowledge, that we may not waver in our affections, but, in joy and security, render thanks to your Piety before Almighty God, that not only has faithlessness been excluded, but faith and harmony been restored to Catholics. This, the

Churches of Africa and Gaul also beseech of you by their legates, that is, that you would make all the Bishops in the world your debtors."

The legates mentioned in this Epistle were those who attended at the Synod of Aquileia. They must then have come with very full powers, not for the single case of the two Arian Bishops. The petition to the Emperors is, not only that they would convene a Synod, but that they would enforce its decision by civil authority. The Council intimates clearly what that decision would be, if their mind prevailed, viz. that the see of Antioch should be preserved to Paulinus.

The arrival of Maximus the Cynic in the Council, and his misrepresentations of his own ordination and of Nectarius occasioned the same Council to write a yet stronger letter to Theodosius. The letter is in the name of "Ambrose and the other Bishops of Italy." "We^t wrote long since, that since the city of Antioch had two Bishops, Paulinus and Meletius, whom we supposed to have one faith, peace and concord should either be restored between them, preserving ecclesiastical order, or at least, on the death of either, the place of the one should not be filled up, while the other survived. But now, Meletius having deceased, Paulinus surviving, who ever remained in our communion, one is asserted to be, not so much set in the place of Meletius, as set over [Paulinus]. And this is said to have been done by the consent and advice of

^t Ep. 2. Concil. Ital. ad Theodos.

Nectarius, whose own ordination, how it was in order we see not. For lately in Council, when Maximus, Bishop, shewed by letters of Peter of blessed memory that the communion of the Church of Alexandria continued with him, and proved clearly that he had been ordained as enjoined, by three Bishops within a private house, because the Arians still held the Churches, we had no possible ground, most blessed prince, to doubt of his Episcopate, inasmuch as he attests that very many of the Clergy and people constrained him, resisting, [to take the office]. Yet lest we should seem to have defined any thing out of presumption, in the absence of the parties, we thought right to write and inform your clemency, that the case may be provided for, as shall seem best for the public peace and harmony. For in truth we observed that Gregory claimed the Episcopate of the Church of Constantinople, not according to the tradition of the fathers. We then, in that Synod which seemed to be intended for the Bishops of the whole world, thought that nothing was to be done hastily. But at that very time, they who declined a general Council, what are they said to have done at Constantinople? For when they knew that Maximus had come to these parts, to maintain his cause in a Synod (which, even if no Council had been appointed, [he might have done] after the manner of our forefathers, as Athanasius too of holy memory, and Peter, Bishops of the Alexandrian Church, and many of the Easterns have done, fleeing, as it seemed, to the judgment of the Church of Rome, of Italy, and of the

whole West") when, as we said, they knew that he meant to try his cause against those who had denied his Episcopate, they ought to have awaited our opinion upon him. We claim no prerogative to examine; but there ought to have been a common and united judgment. Lastly, it ought to have been made clear, that his [Maximus'] Sacerdotal office was to be abrogated, before it was bestowed upon another, [Nectarius] especially by those, by whom Maximus complained that he had been wronged and deprived. So then, since those in our communion had received into communion the Bishop Maximus, it being clear that he was ordained by Catholic Bishops, we did not think that he was to be debarred from his claim to the see of Constantinople. We thought that his allegation ought to be weighed in presence of the parties. But when we, poor as we are, learnt that Nectarius had been ordained at Constantinople, we do not see how our communion with the East can subsist. Especially since Nectarius is said to have been forthwith left out of communion by the very persons by whom he had been ordained. So we have herein no slight scruple. Nor does our disquiet arise from any partizanship or ambition, but from the interruption of communion. Nor do we see how it can be restored, unless either he who was first ordained, be restored to Constantinople, or at least a Council of us and the Easterns should be held at Rome as to the ordination

^u They took refuge in the West, not as appealing from any ecclesiastical authority, (which there was not) but from the persecution of the Civil power.

of the two. Nor does it seem unfitting, Augustus, that *they* should abide the discussion of the Bishop of the Roman Church and of the neighbouring and the Italian Bishops, who thought it right so to await the judgment of the one Bishop Acholius, as to wish him to be summoned from the West to Constantinople. What was reserved for one, how much more should it be for many."

This letter is very remarkable, as written by S. Ambrose, in the name of, and with, Bishops of the West, in a case where one, whom they supposed to have been canonically ordained Bishop of Constantinople and uncanonically deposed, sought the succour of the West. Maximus was seemingly supported by the important see of Alexandria, second in rank to Rome, until it gave way to the new Imperial city. S. Ambrose was sitting in a Council, intended to have been general, although Damasus was not represented, probably because occupied by the faction opposed to him at Rome. S. Ambrose regards this appeal, as well as those of S. Athanasius and Peter, as appeals not to Rome, but to the whole West; and even thus, he claimed for Rome and for the West not authority, but an equal share in judging. Even this would be inconsistent with his plea against Palladius,^v that the matters of East and West should be settled respectively where they arose, unless we suppose that he meant to make an exception in behalf of the chief

^v see ab. p. 325.

sees, who had no superiors, except a general Council.

Theodosius, upon the receipt of these letters, re-assembled the Eastern Bishops at Constantinople, and, perhaps on their advice, wrote a letter, to which S. Ambrose and the Italian Bishops sent an apologetic answer. As far as we can judge from the answer of the Council, the grounds of objection taken by Theodosius were, that this was a needless interference on the part of the Western Bishops, that they were going beyond their bounds, that they had been imposed upon by idle tales, that they had, in fact, prejudged the cause which they asked to be admitted to judge, together with the Eastern Bishops. Such, at least, are the topics on which S. Ambrose and the Council dwell. The letter does not express, as those from Aquileia had done, from what Synod it was written. The title simply runs; “^wAmbrose and the other Bishops of Italy to the most blessed Emperor and most gracious prince, Theodosius.” Perhaps, as S. Ambrose was at this date at Rome, and Emperors’ letters are not kept waiting, he, with the Bishops who had written the former letter, wrote this explanation. Damasus and the other Bishops assembled at Rome, who had taken no part in the former letter, could hardly join in this, which was intended to explain it.

S. Ambrose and the other Bishops set forth that, in their letter, they had sought the glory of the Emperor himself, in applying to him to help in restoring unity

^w Ep. 1. Conc. Ital. ad Theodos. Conc. ii. 1192.

between the Eastern and Western Churches, and informing him by letter as to ecclesiastical matters. "For we grieved that the intercourse of sacred communion between the Easterns and Westerns was interrupted. We will not now say, by whose error or by whose fault, lest we should seem to string fables and idle statements. Nor do we repent that we tried what we should be blamed for leaving untried. For we were often blamed for seeming to disregard the society of the Easterns and to reject their kindness. We were ready too to undertake labor, not for Italy, which has long been quiet and free from anxiety about the Arians, and is harassed by no disturbance of the heretics; not for ourselves, because we do not seek our own, but the good of all; not for Gaul and Africa, which enjoy the harmonious intercourse of all Bishops, but in order that what disturbs our communion on the part of the East might be considered, and all scruple be removed." They then mention that they had a further object in the Synod, the condemnation of Apollinarius and his doctrine, in the presence of the parties. "For whoso has not been convicted in the presence of the parties, as your Clemency laid down in your truly august and princely response, will always be able to seize some occasion of reviving the question. We therefore besought of you an Episcopal Council, that no one might be able to frame falsehood against the absent, and that the truth might be sifted in Council. So then, no suspicion of wrong intentions or favor lights on those who did everything in the presence of the parties.

We did indeed put together what was alleged, in order to inform, not to settle ; and we who asked for judgment, did not prejudge. Nor should it be accounted any derogation to them, when Bishops are invited to Council, whose absence is often more present [to us] when it [the Council] consulted for the common good. For neither did we esteem it any derogation, when one presbyter of the Church of Constantinople, Paul, asked for a Council of Easterns and Westerns within Achaia. Your Clemency observes, that it was no unreasonable request, which the Easterns too asked. But because Illyricum seemed hazardous, we looked out for what was near the sea, and safer. Nor did we devise any thing new ; but adhering to what Athanasius of holy memory, (who was as a pillar of the faith,) and our holy fathers of old have ruled in Councils, we do ‘not remove the boundaries which our fathers have set,’ nor violate the laws of hereditary communion, but reserving the due respect for your Empire, shew ourselves studious of peace and quietness.”

Most of the Bishops who had formed the Council of Constantinople, met again in that City in the following summer (A. D. 482) ; “for ^xsome needs of the Church called them together again. There they received a Synodical letter from the Bishops of the West, exhorting them to come to Rome, because a very large Synod was convened there. But they declined the journey, as promising no good ; and they

^x Theod. v. 9.

wrote them a letter, describing the great tempest which had arisen against the Churches, and hinting at their [the Westerns'] former neglect." The Epistle is addressed, "To the most honored Lords, and most reverend brethren and fellow-ministers Damasus, Ambrose, Britton, Valerian, Ascholius, Anemius, Basil, and the other holy Bishops, met together at the great city Rome, the holy Synod of orthodox Bishops, met in the great city Constantinople, in the Lord greeting." In answer to the invitation, they say ; "Since ye, shewing brotherly love towards us, assembling by the will of God a Synod at Rome, have, through the letters of the king, most beloved of God, invited us too as your own members, that since we then were alone condemned to endure the inflictions, now, when the Emperors are united in the truth, ye may not reign without us, but 'we too may,' as the Apostle says, 'reign with you' ; we should have longed, had it been possible, all collectively leaving our Churches, to have met your wishes, or the need. 'O that we had wings, like a dove, that we could fly' and rest with you. But this would have left our Churches wholly exposed, which had just begun to recover ; and to most of us it was wholly impossible. For in consequence of your honored letters, sent last year after the Synod of Aquileia to the Emperor Theodosius, most beloved of God, we had met at Constantinople, having prepared for an absence only as far as Constantinople, and bringing with us the consent of the Bishops remaining in the provinces, for this Council

only ; and neither anticipating nor hearing at all beforehand of any longer journey, before we met at Constantinople. Moreover, the narrowness of the time allows neither of preparation for a longer absence, nor of our informing all the Bishops of our communion in the provinces and receiving their assents. Since these and many other things hindered the coming of the more part [of the Eastern Bishops to the West,] we have done what was next best, in order both to set matters right, and shew our love towards you ; begging our most reverend and honored brethren and fellow-ministers the Bishops, Cyriacus, Eusebius, and Priscian, gladly to exert themselves to come to you. Through these we shew you that our intention is peaceful, and directed to unity, and we explain our zeal for the faith."

To this statement, they subjoin a succinct profession of faith, directed against the Arians, Sabellians, Eunomians, Macedonians, Apollinarians. "On which subject ye may be refreshed, if ye will vouchsafe to read the tome composed at Antioch by the Synod which met there, and which was set forth last year by the Œcumenical Synod at Constantinople, wherein we have confessed the faith more at large, and have committed to writing anathemas against the heresies which have been recently devised."

The Council then briefly alluded to some of their Canons, and stated how the sees of Constantinople and Antioch had been filled up in conformity with the Nicene Canons, and that they had received S. Cyril of

Jerusalem, as having been canonically elected. The framers of the letter seem, in their praise of the sees of Antioch and Jerusalem, to intend gently to hint to the Western Bishops, that the sees of the East are as good as those of the West.^y They conclude with a monition against interference. "In all these things which hold among us, in conformity to the laws and canons, we exhort your Reverences to sympathise, under the influence of spiritual love; the fear of the Lord repressing all human partialities, and making the building-up of the Churches of more account than individual likings or favor. For these matters of faith being agreed upon, and christian love established among us, we shall cease to say what the Apostles condemned, 'I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephass.' But we all being manifestly of Christ, who is not divided in us, shall, by the vouchsafement of God, keep the Body of the Church unrent, and shall stand with boldness at the judgment seat of Christ."

Theodoret inserts in this place,^z a letter entitled "a Synodical letter of Damasus, Bishop of Rome, written against Apollinaris and Timotheus." The letter is written in answer to some persons who had applied to him to depose Timotheus, and whom he addresses as "sons." Together with this, Theodoret adds "a confession of faith, which the Pope Damasus sent to the Bishop Paulinus in Macedonia, when he was at Thessalonica." In this last, Theodoret is clearly mis-

^y see ab. p. 311.

^z v. 10.

taken. For it appears from the fuller form, published from the Roman Archives, that this "confession of faith" was sent, shortly after Vitalis left Rome, when the suspicions of Damasus had been fully awakened with regard to him. Paulinus was at that time at Antioch; whereas his journey to Thessalonica would fall after the Council of Rome A. D. 382.

The "confession of faith" was written by Damasus himself; Theodoret says, that the Bishops "assembled^a at the 'great Rome' [i. e. Rome, not Constantinople] wrote it." If so, it was written by Damasus in a Synod. In this Epistle Damasus writes to Paulinus, as an equal, and mentions his own mistake, "^b Damasus to his most beloved brother, Paulinus. I had directed letters to you by my son Vitalis himself, leaving all things to your will and judgment; and by Petronius the presbyter, I had briefly indicated that, at the very moment of his departure, I was in some degree disquieted. Whence, lest any scruple should remain with you, and lest your commendable caution should defer some who wish to be united to the Church, we have sent you our faith, not so much to you, who are united with us in the communion of the same faith, as for those who, by subscribing it, wish to be united in it with thee, i. e. with me through thee, most beloved brother." He concludes; "Whoever would subscribe this Epistle, yet so that he shall have before subscribed the Ecclesiastical Canons, which you very

^a Ib. fin.

^b in Holstein p. 180. sqq. In Theodoret (v. 11.) the beginning and end are omitted, as personal to Paulinus.

well know, and the Nicene faith, him you will have to receive, without any questioning. Not that you could not propose for the reception of converts those very things which we write, but that our agreement may give you an independant example in receiving them." In the hint about "the Ecclesiastical Canons," there is probably an indirect censure of S. Meletius, whose appointment to the see of Antioch, after he had occupied that of Sebaste, Damasus probably held to be uncanonical. It was not however, a translation; for S. Meletius had given up the see of Sebaste, three years before, "cwearied by the refractoriness of those he governed."

The Synodical letter, (if such it be) was written some time after A. D. 373; for it speaks of the condemnation of Apollinaris and Timotheus,^d as having taken place of old. "Know that we have condemned that profane Timotheus, who was of old, the disciple of the heretic Apollinaris, with his impious doctrine, and we do not believe that what remains of him will ever be strong again. But if that old serpent, having been once or twice crushed, revive to his own punishment, he who is out of the Church and ceases not to essay to ruin some faithless ones by his deadly poisons,—avoid him, like a plague. And remembering the Apostolic faith, especially that set forth in writing by the fathers at Nice, abide in it unmoved and firmly planted, and endure not henceforth that your clerks or

^c Theod. ii. 31.

^d see ab. p. 276.

laymen should hear vain janglings, or questions already closed. For we have already once given a form, that whoso knoweth himself to be a Christian may keep that which was delivered by the Apostles, since the blessed Paul saith, ‘if any man preach to you any other Gospel than that ye have received, let him be accursed.’”

It is not clear to whom this letter is addressed. It is written to Bishops, since it says “endure not, that your clerks or laymen &c.” It is no answer to the Council of Constantinople, after whose letter Theodoret places it ;^e for *they* had made no request about Timotheus. It is written in a different tone from that in which Damasus addressed all other Bishops. For Paulinus and other Bishops he addresses as “brothers”; these, as “most honoured sons.” It was a time of misunderstanding between the East and West. S. Basil complains of the “Western superciliousness,” especially of Damasus. The Epistle may then have very probably been written, when Damasus wished to extol his own see, and repress the Easterns, in this matter which concerned the whole Church.

The Council of Rome, as far as we know, took no

^e Theodoret is probably observing an order of connection, not of time. After mentioning that the Council of Constantinople condemned the doctrines of Apollinaris, he adds ; “Damasus too, the all-celebrated, having learned that this heresy had shot up, deposed not Apollinaris only, but Timothy too his disciple, and signified this to the Bishops, governing the Eastern Church, by letters, which I have thought it useful to insert in the history.” (v. 9. fin.) The supposition that Damasus called the Bishops at Constantinople his “sons” has been used of old in Roman controversy.

^f Ep. 239. Euseb. add Ep. 215. Dorothe.

notice of the letter of the Council of Constantinople. The Council of Italy told Theodosius, “^gmany things moved us, which ought to be analyzed in the presence of the parties, not only as to what your Serenity deigned to write to us upon, but as to those who are endeavouring to bring into the Church some doctrine which is asserted to be that of Apollinarius.” S. Jerome had “^hbeen brought to Rome by some need of the Church, together with Paulinus and S. Epiphanius;” “theⁱ Imperial letter bringing together Bishops of the East and West, on account of dissensions of Churches.” It appears from a story of Rufinus (which S. Jerome confirms^k as coming from himself, while he ridicules it as bearing on his controversy with Rufinus) that not only was the reconciliation of the Apollinarians discussed, but a statement was drawn up, which they were to sign, and which was shewn to them, and their objections heard. “When^l the reception of Apollinarius into the Church was discussed, Damasus committed to a certain Presbyter, a most eloquent man, his friend, the office of writing a statement of the faith of the Church, which the Apollinarians were to subscribe, if they wished to be received into the Church.” “He, as was his wont, discharged this office for him [Damasus]. He thought it necessary to use the term ‘Homo Dominicus’ of the Incarnation. The Apollinarians were offended at the word; they began to blame the novelty of the term. The author [S. Je-

^g Ep. i.^h Ep. 127. Princip. §. 7.ⁱ Ep. 108. Eustoch. §. 6.^k c. Ruf. ii. 20.^l de adult. libb. Orig. app. Orig. iv. p. 53.

rome] stood his ground, and refuted the objectors by the authority of ancient Catholic writers. It chanced that to one objector he shewed the phrase in a treatise of Bishop Athanasius. *He*, as though convinced, asked for the loan of the volume, that he might satisfy others who contradicted in ignorance. Having received it, he devised an unheard-of mode of falsifying. He erased the word, and then re-wrote the word which he had erased. The volume was returned without any questions. The question was again raised; the volume was brought in proof; the word in question was found in it upon an erasure; the honesty of one who produced such a copy was impugned, because the erasure seemed an indication of corruption and falsifying. But since this fraud was practised by one living person upon another, he took diligent measures forthwith to detect it, so that the brand should not attach to the innocent party who had done nothing of the kind, but to the author of the deed, to the increase of his infamy."

Another Council of Constantinople was held A. D. 383, as a sort of sequel of the first. "^m Theodosius could not endure, as far as in him lay, that the cities should be filled with confusion; but, after a short time, had a Synod held, thinking that, by the discussion of the Bishops among themselves, one harmonious belief would prevail among all.—Not long after, the Bishops of every creed were present from all sides.—

^m Soer. v. 10.

The king then sent for Nectarius the Bishop, and communicated with him as to the means whereby Christendom might no more utter different voices, but the Church be united. He said that the question which divided the Churches must be discussed, that so, removing the disagreement, he might bring about agreement in the Churches." The plan suggested was, that the Emperor should "ask the heresiarchs, whether they made account of the teachers who flourished in the Church before the division, or whether they rejected them as aliens from Christianity?" The king adopted this, and "not mentioning the object, asked only whether they made account of and received the teachers before the division of the Churches. When they did not deny this, but said that they honored them exceedingly as guides, the king again asked, whether they accepted these as faithful witnesses of the Christian doctrine. When the Bishops of the sects, and the logicians among each of them, heard this, (for there were many among them equipped for a strife of logic) they knew not what to do. Discord fell among them, some saying, that the proposal of the king was good; others, that it did not answer their end. For they were differently disposed as to the books of the ancients; and they no longer held together, but were at variance, not only the sects with one another, but even those of the same heresy among themselves. One-tongued wickedness then, like the language of the mighty of old, was confused; and their tower of wickedness was overthrown. The king, knowing their

confused dispersion, and that they trusted in logic only, not in the exposition of the ancients, turned to a second device, and bade each sect make known their creed in writing. Then the able men of each party, carefully weighing their words, wrote each his own doctrine. A day was fixed, and the Bishops of each body, being summoned to the palace, met together. Nectarius and Agelius [the Novatian Bishop] were there, as Bishops of the faith of the Homoousion; Demophilus, of the Arians; of the Eunomians, Eunomius himself; of the Macedonians, Eleusius of Cyzicus. The king received them, and having taken from each his confession of faith, retired apart, and prayed earnestly to God to help him to choose the truth. Then having read the several confessions, he, censuring all the rest, as involving a division of the Trinity, tore them; and extolled and accepted the confession of the Homoousion alone."

Socrates, who gives this account in order to gain credit to the Novatians, and Sozomen,ⁿ who copies him, mix up with it an improbable statement that Nectarius took advice with Agelius and Sisinnius, Novatians, and that his suggestion to Theodosius came, in fact, from Sisinnius a Reader among the Novatians. It is the more unlikely, because Sozomen himself relates, that with consent of Diodorus, he retained "Cyriacus ° Bishop of Adan, and from him learnt the office of the Episcopate," and that he also "induced many other Cilicians to continue with him."

S. Gregory of Nazianzum was disappointed with Councils. The hope which he and S. Basil had so long cherished, and with a view to which he had accepted the see of Constantinople, had failed. The separate Councils in the East and West, even because they were separate, had rather aggravated the misunderstanding which already existed. For the Bishops debated apart what they ought, if they discussed at all, to have debated in common. Hence S. Gregory declined all future participation in Councils. “^pI, if I must write the truth, am disposed to flee all meetings of Bishops; for never saw I a Council brought to a useful issue, nor remedying, (but rather increasing) existing evils. For there are always contentions and love of preeminence (think me not troublesome for so writing) beyond all words; and one who would set others right may more readily himself incur the charge of guilt, than amend their’s. Wherefore I have retired within myself, and thought quietness the only safety for my soul.”

East and West were mutually angered, and S. Gregory, in attempting to mediate, had lost many of his friends in the East, and had been personally opposed by the West. It was a sort of prelude to the subsequent divisions of East and West. Yet S. Gregory wrote to high officers of state, to do what in them lay, to bring matters to a happy issue; not as having any voice in it, but as influencing in some way those who

had. Thus to Saturninus, who was Consul in A.D. 383; “^a All things around us are well, by the goodness of God, except that we are anxious about the Churches, so miserably distracted. In whatever way you can help, by word or deed, be zealous in establishing harmony; for the Bishops are meeting again, and it is to be feared lest now too we should be put to shame, if this Council too shall have a poor close, like the former.” And to Victor, Master-General-at-war,^r “Since again there is a Synod, and a conflict, and that, in the midst of enemies diligently watching all our affairs, lend a hand to the general peace, as being thyself not the meanest part of the Church, and let it not be consumed in the conflagration which now encompasseth the Church. But bring any engine you can, to quench the fire, and exhort others to do the like, that it may be well with thee, in the common weal.” And to Sophronius,^s a Prefect, after speaking of his own repose. “Do you now at least, (even if you did not before) use all diligence that the sections of the world, perniciously apart, may unite; and especially, if you learn that they are at variance, not on any matter of faith, but about their private petty feelings, as I have observed. For this will have its reward for you, if it may be; and our retirement will be less sorrowful, if we shall appear not to have chosen it in vain, but to have cast ourselves of our own accord into the sea, like Jonah, that the tempest may be stayed, and those

^a Ep. 132.

^r Ep. 133.

^s Ep. 135.

on board be saved." To the other Master-General Modar,[†] a Goth, in like way; "Would that many of our countrymen imitated your nobleness; all our affairs, public and private, would go well. I beseech you, that as, by your wisdom and valour nobly standing by us, you end foreign war, so you will also end our own; at least, striving, as far as in you lies, that the Bishops who are now meeting may have a peaceable issue. For frequent meetings, without any close to our ills, but adding confusion to confusion, bring but increase of shame, as you too know." S. Gregory expresses the same hope in a letter written to Posthumian, who was made Prætorian Prefect A. D. 383. "Be assured that nothing can so befit your rule (since a Council of Bishops is held, I know not why or how convened) than that, while you are Prefect, and by your pains, the Churches should be brought into concord."

The Eastern Councils could not after the election of S. Flavian, effect the peace which S. Gregory desired; for there was no fresh step to take, nothing left for them to do. S. Gregory, then, longed from the East, what could be done only conjointly by East and West. Neither could abandon their own Bishops; had they united in Council, each might have recognised the other's Bishop, as S. Meletius had proposed.

But although the healing of the breach was reserved for a later Council, this great Council did give rest to

[†] Ep. 136.

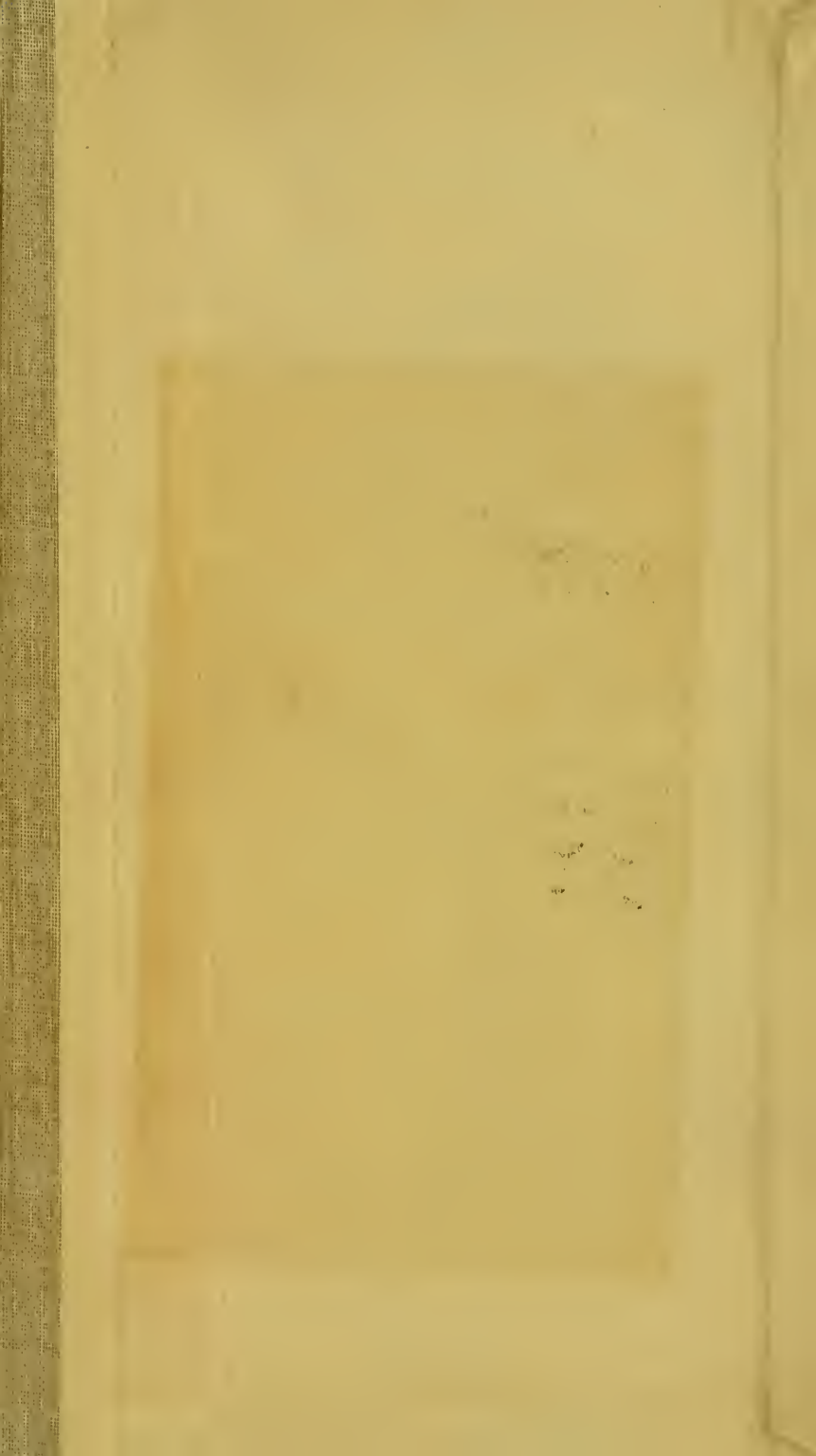
^u Ep. 183.

the East for nearly seventy years, until the heresy of Nestorius suddenly burst out. The fifty-six years between the Councils of Nice and Constantinople had been occupied by a succession of efforts to storm or undermine the fortress of the Nicene Council and Creed, or to set up another over against and as a rival to it. But the Arians, although upheld by all the power of Emperors, broke, not the rock, but themselves against it. The Church was not only impregnable, but was encircled with a second bulwark against heresy; the heretical spirit in the East was for the time laid; the mists were cleared away; and the Church was seen the more to be founded on the firm Rock.

Thanks be to God.

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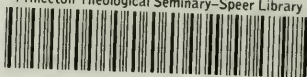
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